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GEOGRAPHY

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DISSERTATION

Mixed-Blood Populations of Eastern United States as to Origins, Localizations, and Persistence

Groups of dark-skinned people, mixed in race and socially segregated from the white, Indian, and negro parent races, live in many localities of eastern United States. Distinctive names applied by the country population identify the larger groups, whose numbers may amount to ten thousand or more. Some mixed-bloods live in distinct areas to the exclusion of others; but each group more commonly forms a social caste and an economic class throughout a home area, within which its members may be recognized by a few characteristic surnames.

Census and current data on the distribution of surnames suggest the past existence of a connected mixed-blood society in southern Virginia and the Carolinas, whose emigrants settled in other recognized sites on moving westward. Other mixed-blood groups seem to have arisen independently.

The *Cajans* of southwest Alabama sprang chiefly from three or four prolific families of free colored persons, who herded livestock in the period of settlement, and whose descendants helped the lumber companies remove the forest, remaining to harvest the slim leavings. Today they dwell as squatters and landowners in a poor area inhabited chiefly by themselves. Free colored persons from South Carolina served as the nucleus for a mixed-blood population in the last frontier of Louisiana; they remain, scattered through five parishes of southwest Louisiana, uniformly identified, under an old Carolina term, as the *Redbones*. The trans-Appalachian stream from North Carolina and Virginia deposited in the ridge-and-valley country of Hancock County, Tennessee, a group of families who seem to have differed from other pioneers only in skin color. These *Melungeons* are typical Appalachian farmers; offshoots of the colony have joined with similar peoples in such numbers that a dozen concentrations may be recognized from Chattanooga to north of the Ohio. Mixed-bloods settling in north central West Virginia have grown in numbers to form the *Guineas*, recognized in several counties, but concentrated in only two. The *Jackson Whites* of northern New Jersey have recently moved down from their old settlements in the rough Ramapo hills to take part in the economic life of the near-by towns. The other mixed-blood groups show variations, but do not differ in type.

The mixed-blood peoples typically date from the settlement of their areas, derive from immigrant families of diverse origin, and owe their recognition as groups to their tremendous reproductive increase. Their numbers are often limited by available resources; the surplus drains off to cities, leaving behind the more conservative and the darker-skinned. These groups are more characteristically located in the South than in the North, and more in the Coastal Plain and Appalachians than in areas of more continuous utility.

Field of Study: GEOGRAPHY.

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Seminars in Regional Geography. Professors C. O. Sauer and J. O. M. Broek.

Seminars in Economic Geography. Professors S. V. Wantrup and J. O. M. Broek.

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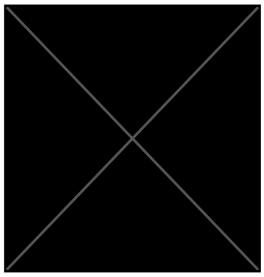

Acknowledgement

I wish to thank the many persons who have contributed to the completion of this thesis. Innumerable persons, not herein identified, have taken the time to provide information about the mixed-bloods that is obtainable only by word of mouth. William H. Gilbert, whose curiosity has also led him to investigate these strange peoples, provided many helpful suggestions as well as encouragement. Many improvements in the original draft have come from the suggestions of Professors Carl O. Sauer, who suggested the project, John B. Leighly, and Paul S. Taylor, my father, Edward T. Price, my father-in-law, Harold S. Muckleston, and my wife, Margaret Muckleston Price. My sister, Emily Price da Silveira, has settled some doubtful points by reference to material in the National Archives.

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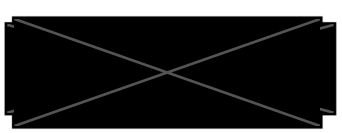


I

INTRODUCTION

Widely separated groups of people of similar distinction are described in the following excerpts:

> "Croatan.....One of a people of mixed Indian, white, and negro blood, living in North Carolina, now legally recognized as a distinct people." (1)

> "..... a strange mixed group of people who are scattered through several counties of West Virginia and who are called 'Guineas'.....mentioned ..... as a mixed Indian-White group.....local White people seem to regard them as part negro in spite of the fact that some are quite indistinguishable from Whites." (2)

> ".....CARMEL..... a curious group of people living in the impoverished hills..... of mixed white, Negro, and Indian blood..... They live in leaky mud-chinked cabins." (3)

> ".....OAKDALE.....In the village is a small colony of Melungeons, a dark-skinned people found only in the mountainous region of East Tennessee and western North Carolina." (4)

> "Some in this section call themselves Moors, some call themselves Negroes, and a few call themselves Indians - terms having little to do with color, which may be anything from rich cream to almost black. Yet all of these mixed-blood people have a quality that sets them off from both the whites and the recognized Negroes."(5)

(1) Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language (second edition, Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam, 1947), 628.
(2) W.H.Gilbert, "The Guineas of West Virginia, "American Anthropologist, n.s. XLVIII (Jan.-Mar., 1946), 138-9.
(3) Writer's Program, Ohio, The Ohio Guide, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 509.
(4) Federal Writers' Project, Tennessee, Tennessee (New York: The Viking Press, 1945), 362.
(5) Federal Writer's Project, Delaware, Delaware (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), 504.

> "Save for their height they both looked like Sicilians. The man's hair was curly, his cheek bones high, his features aquiline, his eyes large and gray. The girl was of olive complexion..... 'reckon one of 'em married French an' that was where the name Cajan come from.'" (6)

> "Few isolated racial groups have had so tragic a history as the Jackson Whites. Hessian, English, West Indian, Dutch, Portuguese, Negro, Spanish, Italian, and American Indian by blood ....." (7)

> "There are several communities of White-Indian-Negro hybrids in South Carolina, the members of which do not fit into the bi-racial system on which the state's whole social structure is built." (8)

Such references have formed the point of departure for the present study. This identifying material was collected from many different sources, and it was only after the location of these groups was virtually completed that a compilation of basic facts about the major mixed-blood groups was published (9).

This search for mixed-blood groups followed the suggestion of Dr. Carl Sauer that a story worth uncovering might lie behind the existence of two or three mysterious, dark-skinned peoples localized in certain parts of the southeastern United States. The literature gradually revealed a dozen

(6) Carl Carmer, Stars Fell on Alabama (New York: The Literary Guild, 1934), 257-9.
(7) Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey, New Jersey (New York: The Viking Press, 1939), 505.
(8) Brewton Berry, "The Mestizos of South Carolina," American Journal of Sociology, LI (July, 1945), 34.
(9) W.H. Gilbert, "Memorandum Concerning the Characteristics of the Larger Mixed-Blood Islands of the Eastern United States," Social Forces, XXIV (May, 1946), 438-447.

sizable groups, to say nothing of many smaller ones, which were not entirely confined to the South. Invariably the people were described as mixtures of white, Indian, and negro, living in isolation on poor lands, an anomalous caste in America, where such mixtures are conventionally relegated to a lower-ranking negro society; for the isolation of these unfortunate minorities has separated them from negroes as well as whites. To add to the suitability of the topic for the present dissertation, the sum of all the literature available on these groups was only a set of incomplete and often contradictory descriptions, and, in no case was the origin of a group adequately explained, though many strange stories about each continue to circulate.

These numerous mixed-blood groups have, in the way they dot a map (Fig. 56), a spatial distribution; these people are found in certain discrete areas and are generally absent in other locations. The determination and interpretation of this distribution forms a geographical problem which, in its comprehensiveness, embraces the questions that come to mind about the groups individually and collectively: What do these people look like? Where do they live? How numerous are they? How do they earn their livings? What are their relations with their neighbors? What is their internal social organization? To what extent are they isolated? What is their racial origin? How has this mixture come about? Why has the mixture persisted in the form of a separate group? Are these different groups

related to one another? If these groups are independent, have they appeared under similar or dissimilar conditions? What are the conditions requisite for the occurrence of this phenomenon? Must such a group have developed in a natural refuge area of some sort? What do these groups tell us of social history? How old are they? How have they changed during their history? What can be expected of their future - dissolution, assimilation, increase, or decrease? Do they retain culture traits indicative of their ancestry?

The first of the above questions call for answers which, taken together, describe the group to which they are applied. The importance of this description lies in its frequently inadequate treatment heretofore. Since many false notions have grown out of the errors of past descriptions, it is considered an important contribution of the present work to provide, as thoroughly as possible, an account of the significant facts about each of these groups as it appears today. The other questions deal with the reconstruction of past times and the processes which have been involved in the appearance and continuation of such groups.

Definitions

On the basis of the nature of their recurrence in many places in the eastern United States, a definition can be worked out to segregate the groups of people which form the units of study in this thesis. Three qualifications suffice:

(1) The people must be racial mixtures of white and non-white groups, Indian and/or negro peoples presumably providing the latter blood in the absence of evidence to the contrary; (2) they must have a social status differing from that accorded whites, Indians, or negroes in the area in such a way as to throw them generally together in their more personal social relationships; (3) they must exist in such numbers and concentration as to be recognized in their locality as such a group and usually to be identified by a distinguishing group name.

The first condition throws us into the contradiction that the fact of racial mixture is both a prerequisite to and an object of the investigation of a group. While I have not taken here the view of some functional sociologists that a mixed group is equivalent to one that is believed to be mixed, the belief of mixture on the part of their neighbors and the appearance of mixture on the part of the objects of the investigation have been taken to provide a satisfactory starting point. Since, however, a genetic explanation of these groups is a purpose of the work, unity of subject requires a focus on groups that are actually mixed. The possibility of Indian and negro blood is omnipresent in the United States; if, however, dark skin color may be explained by some other source, that fact need not eliminate the group under the above definition or under requirements of unity.

Within the areas of the study we are practically concerned with a tripartite classification of social status on

the basis of race. The white group is, of course, dominant and most numerous; it is not necessary here to discuss the complexity of white society, but the implications of the old phrase "free, white, and 21" emphasize the importance of white status to opportunity. The negro group is at the bottom of the social scale, and under common American practice (as well as specific law in a few states), includes all those known to have any negro blood at all. The Indian is a much less important group in American society, but his status must be understood for purposes of this study. Indian status, for present purposes, belongs to those who live as wards of the government or maintain some tribal organization. (Strictly, perhaps, we should also recognize a blooded Indian who has taken up the white man's ways.) The Indians are accorded a degree of nobility which the much more numerous negroes have never enjoyed. Actually many of the Indian groups under the above definition have absorbed large fractions of negro as well as white blood; these will be considered here as Indians, though Virginia, at least, has been specific in asserting the priority of the definition of the negro. The mixed groups under consideration differ from the whites in not being accepted in their areas as whites in all social matters; they, therefore, may be said to rank below the whites in the areas concerned. (Note that these groups are local phenomena, and the definitions are intended only to relate each group to others in its vicinity.) These people usually disclaim any

negro connection and, by their own insistence, keep themselves socially separate from, though not necessarily above, the negroes. This demarcation may be encouraged equally by the negroes in reciprocation. In most cases there are no Indians (under the above definition) in the localities of the mixed groups; hence we have only this academic distinction between mixed-blood groups and Indians rather than a direct social distinction. Some of the mixed-bloods claim Indian connections, but,by our definition, have not successfully established the claims.

The third limitation in the recognition of one of these mixed-blood groups requires that it be a group of some sort and not merely a concentration of families of mixed blood. It is not intended to imply that the group must have internal coherence or organization, for some of them exist only negatively in that other people force them together. Any recognized unity, usually a tendency toward intramarriage, is sufficient to place them together. It is found that a name is usually applied to such a group.

In this thesis one of the above-defined units of study is usually referred to, for lack of a more specific designation, as a "mixed-blood group", "mixed group", "group", "half-breed group", or "half-caste group". These terms are clumsy, but the language has not yet evolved a generic term covering all these peoples; and since the individual groups are entirely local in nature, it can hardly be expected to

evolve such a term though one might be established among scientists.

One analysis of the names applied to such groups (10) recognizes three general types which are, in the suggested order of evolution: names of Indian tribes, names of typical families, new names applied to the group but restricted in location. Usually the Indian names are applied to groups coming under our definitions as Indians. Family names are sometimes found, but are seldom applied to the larger groups. The derivation of the larger group names is seldom evident; some reasonable explanations are usually in circulation, but it is rare that any one is known to be correct.

To my knowledge only one suggestion has been made for a generic term applying to all such mixed-blood peoples. The word mestizo has been used by Brewton Berry (11) to designate a variety of mixed groups in South Carolina. Though mestizo suitably means "mixed", it refers to specific types of mixtures in different parts of the old Spanish Empire; it is also localized in those parts of the world and carries their flavor, and it does not imply the anomalous social position occupied by these mixed groups in the United States. In the Western Hemisphere it has referred specifically to crosses of Europeans

(10) A.R. Dunlap & C.A. Weslager, "Trends in the Naming of Tri-Racial Mixed-Blood Groups in the Eastern United States", American Speech, XXII (April, 1947), 87.
(11) Op. cit., 34.

and Indians. Hence its use has not been continued here.

Again for lack of better designation the names applied locally to the individual groups will be used here to identify them. These identifying words also connote contempt in their areas and are shunned by their objects. The writer uses them only for identification, for which they are valuable, because they provide a faithful measure of the recognition of the mixed people as units. The following pages also attempt to portray the racial attitudes prevailing in each of the areas; their recounting is not for the purpose of advancing them, but only the recognition of their existence.

Limits of the Study

This study was conceived as an attempt to determine the nature and background of these half-caste groups in the light of their recurrent distribution over the eastern part of the country. It was planned to visit as many of the groups as possible in order to gain an accurate knowledge of their state of existence and an opportunity to study local documentary sources for information on their histories and origins. Investigation revealed that major studies had been made of several of the larger groups, essentially those located on the Atlantic Coastal Plain. Though most of the material gained from these studies is unpublished and hence unavailable for use in the present work, there seemed to be no advantage in

duplicating it. Consequently no effort was made to include those groups in the field visits; in so far as possible, however, their place in the general relationships of these groups will be considered.

The peculiarity of these groups contrasts with the broader society dominated in formation by the Anglo-Saxon peoples who settled the successive frontiers of the United States. Some of the mixed groups present in the United States today, however, have appeared in parts of the country which were settled by other European peoples among whom groups in this particular position could not exist. Where the mixed people have plainly evolved in a French or Spanish environment, the situation in certain parts of Alabama and Louisiana (and unconsidered areas farther west), it has been deemed advisable in the interest of cultural unity to omit them from this study.

The Method of the Study

The literature dealing with the mixed groups was inadequate for the purpose of planning the field work intelligently. The result was that the work had to be shaped in accordance with the discoveries, and plans had to be changed radically in the course of the first summer's work in order to assure the development of a suitable subject.

The general method in studying a group has been to make inquiry in the area where it was reported. Since the mixed-bloods are usually reported to be resentful of any mention of

their status, it seemed necessary that inquiry be conducted inconspicuously. A slip could conceivably have aroused the antagonism of the mixed-blood peoples to the point of making any contact with them impossible. A list of people interested in these groups was provided by W. H. Gilbert, and it frequently led to people who could help in starting a productive inquiry. County officials such as school superintendents, agricultural agents, or welfare workers usually know their counties, are nearly certain not to be connected with the mixed group, and are usually glad to be helpful. The course of inquiry is one of collecting the many diverse opinions and attitudes in order to arrive at a grasp of the likely facts and the diversity of feelings and prejudices involved. This job may be considered finished when further interviews fail to yield more material. A large portion of the thesis is based on a composite of opinion gained through such interviews; this material appears as fact or opinion stated by the writer. It has been necessary to evaluate the conflicting views collected in terms of the frequency of the view, the apparent reliability of its source, and the consistency with other information. The name and position of the person providing each item of information has been kept on record with the field notes; no attempt has been made to give references to such sources in the text of the thesis because the identity of the numerous individuals concerned would be meaningless to the reader and because a few of them have specifically insisted

that they not be quoted.

Many of these persons interviewed were intimately acquainted with the mixed peoples. Opportunity was sought for meeting members of the mixed groups with whom the problem might be discussed - informants in the anthropologist's language. In nearly all cases those who assisted me discouraged any attempt to approach the mixed-bloods directly on the subjects of their separation and origin. They are usually resentful of a situation they do not wish to admit; and, in particular, any suggestion of negro blood might well produce violence. It is possible in all cases, however, to enter the residence areas of the mixed-bloods, to observe directly their living conditions, appearance, and activities, and to talk with them about general subjects. Some are still very suspicious of strangers, however, and do not warm up at all to a casual conversation. It is my opinion that the mixed-bloods know little or nothing of their origins and that what they may believe has already been communicated to their white confidants. Most of the other information about them has certainly been picked up by the white people who know them. There remains the possibility that they may have folk-tales or magic ritual which have survived from Indians or some other ancestral group and which may be secret; but such a possibility is questioned here on the basis that these cultural survivals have been demonstrated in none of the groups and that their known folk-lore follows that of other poor people

of the same regions. An intimate first-hand study of one of these groups could be made by an outsider only over a long period of time; he would need first to gain the confidence of the people after justifying his presence on some other basis; even then the inquiry into the ways and feelings of the group would have to be gradual. Such a study would give a better picture of the functional relationships between these peoples and between them and their neighbors in terms of their basic mechanisms and attitudes, but I believe that it would not change the nature of the information I have especially sought. It has been my choice to take a view of the groups as an American phenomenon, collecting the information which yielded most for the time required to obtain it.

The third type of evidence obtained during the local field investigations involved the use of documentary materials concerning current and past states of the groups. The nature and value of the materials that could be used varied greatly from place to place, depending on the type, indexing, and duration of the records maintained by the counties as well as on the identifiability of the mixed group in those records. Inquiry was made after any other material that might exist such as local studies of the groups, information from local histories and newspaper accounts, or old diaries; such material was sparse and often not located, but at times it was very useful.

The most satisfactory evidence on the early history of

these groups was obtained from the original census schedules. Since only fragments were available locally in most cases, it was necessary to visit the National Archives for the purpose of completing the coverage in this manner. Most of the people of interest were illiterate in the days when the records were taken; each census-taker spelled the names as he heard them pronounced, but they are recognizable. Whether the people knew their ages and birthplaces is sometimes doubtful; variations in these items from census to census and duplication of whole families in different subdivisions of the same county constitute observed proof that the records are not perfect. It is my belief that the general nature of a group of people as conveyed by the census schedules can be accepted without serious question. The possibility that whole groups of people might have been so hostile as to be unapproachable by the census-taker is not supported by any reliable evidence; had such a condition existed, it is conceivable that large groups of previously unreported people might have appeared in some decennial county census; although two cases were noted where a surprising number disappeared between censuses, we have no reason to suspect mass omissions census after census. The Appendix (p. 324) is a summary of the types of information available in the census data.

The documentary information on the past was sketchy. In trying to reconstruct the histories of these groups, interpretation and interpolation are required. These attempts to draw

conclusions from meagre data depend on assumptions of continuity in time. Three approaches on the basis of this continuity requirement may be used. (1) The continuity of the population requires that these groups grow (or shrink) at biologically likely rates, modified by migration, and that any identifiable population group must have a source. (2) The continuity of place requires that these people must always be located in some place or places, and assumption of their persistence in some one location may often be the result of interpolation. (3) The continuity of a source of support requires that these people must have possessed a means of livelihood at all times; the attempt to ascertain the nature of this means is related to their times, social relations, land ownership, population, and available resources.

Limitations of the Study

Beyond the fact that it was impossible to acquire intimate acquaintance with the people being studied, two weaknesses of the study and method are worthy of mention. The unit of information was gathered at considerable expense in time and distance traveled. The precaution deemed necessary precluded general inquiry from the accessible man on the street. Much time was spent in making contact with suitable people. This difficulty is, of course, inherent in the nature of the problem; the one which follows is a result of the method and the broad problem which the writer has undertaken; it was more and more

appreciated as the field work progressed.

Like so many other geographical problems, this one requires, for safest results, a thorough knowledge of the region involved as a background for the particular events and situations involved in the study. Because the topic spread to many disconnected areas, the opportunity for obtaining such a regional familiarity was diluted. The person in the best position to study these groups is the lifelong resident of the area where they are found; he has the best opportunity to acquire all the stray information which might be useful and to have the grasp of all the facts of the background which might be relevant to an interpretation of the development of the group. Few such residents have the required curiosity, and the proximity to a rather touchy situation usually prevents the local resident from publishing such material. Advantages of the thorough regional knowledge are numerous. For example it is difficult for the stranger to locate closely the residences of people listed in the census records; yet the person who knows the county can probably give a close location by recognition of the other names listed on the same page. On a few occasions information might have been gained by searching old newspaper files, but the magnitude of this task was entirely out of proportion to the very doubtful benefits; on the other hand, a student of many phases of the area would find the newspaper search

well worthwhile in producing a varied harvest of detailed historical items. The present study has sacrificed these advantages in order to cover the wider field which lay open.

Contributions Made by the Study

So far as I can determine, this study makes the following contributions to the material available on these mixed groups:

The most thorough over-all studies of the following individual groups: Alabama Cajans, Tennessee Melungeons, Louisiana Redbones (in the absence of published information beyond mere mention), Carmel-Magoffin mixed bloods of Ohio and Kentucky.

Presentation of new material on the following: West Virginia Guineas, mixed-bloods of Darke County, Ohio.

Re-examination of old material with field work: Jackson Whites of New York and New Jersey.

First general and comparative study of mixed-blood groups based on field work among several of them.

Critical examination of literature on other mixed groups in the light of experience and information gained from the groups studied more closely.

II

CLASSIFICATION OF MIXED-BLOOD GROUPS

The intention of this section is to set up criteria for the comparison of mixed-blood groups. Theoretical consideration of the modes of origin will enable us to classify them by genetic types, noting the conditions conducive to their formation. A consideration of the possible relationships of the group to other people and to the space occupied will provide the basis for a morphological classification. The part played by the mechanisms of inheritance in formation and development of the group is reserved for the next section.

Two initial factors are necessary for the type of group here discussed. (1) Racial mixture must take place, often involving three races; (2) the products of this mixture must then inbreed over a considerable period of time. The first condition accounts for the origin of the group, the second for its persistence. This condition of persistence, as perhaps the condition of origin too, requires some form of isolation, either physical or social; in the latter case either the people of recognized classes may refuse to have relations with the mixed group or the group, identifying itself, may refuse to have relations with others. At the present time both these conditions apply to the mixed groups as against different segments of the general population. Sooner or later this barrier must be maintained at the level of social attitudes.

Since we deal with people, we may first consider the creation of the population concerned. The conditions of original racial mixture may have occurred in any or all of a number of ways.

The bi-racial mixtures have come about in this country under several recurrent conditions. Most numerous were the mulattoes. (1) Many, born into slavery as children of their masters, might have some chance of being freed; but (2) the mulatto children of lower class white women by slaves probably formed a greater number of free people in some states in pre-Revolutionary days (1); (3) other mulatto offspring may have been produced by freedmen or escaped slaves in relations with whites. The increase of the mulatto population by racial mixing was probably unimportant by the time the slaves were freed, however; it is estimated that the country's present population of negro-white mixtures is increasing mostly by its own reproduction and further crossing with negroes (2). Negro society is known to be broken up into segments by a hierarchy in which skin color plays a large part, and most of the negro leaders are mulattoes. There are a few cases of mulatto groups which have segregated themselves as communities, but without denying their ancestry. It is conceivable that such a group might take this last step and qualify as a mixed-blood

(1) Luther P. Jackson, Virginia State College, Petersburg, personal communication, Sept. 29, 1948.
(2) Melville J. Herskovits, "The Color Line", American Mercury, VI (October, 1925), 207.

group under our definition (p. 5), but it may be that tri-racial mixture has, on the basis of the actual cases, been a prerequisite.

Throughout the settlement of America white and Indian societies, both free and independent, have been juxtaposed. Though these societies may have long remained clearly separate, mixtures of the two groups have usually found places in either society without any marked discrimination, provided the individuals performed reputably. In particular, small portions of Indian blood have become matters of pride among whites, and most of the surviving Indians have mixed with white and other strains. Indian half-breeds have often been considered shiftless and treacherous, but in this judgement of behavior the racial distinction has been only secondary. No segregated societies of mixed whites and Indians have been reported in Anglo-America, unless the Canadian Metis are in this position in the one-time Franco-American area.

Contact between negroes and Indians could be of original importance for the groups considered here. It has certainly produced significant mixtures in the course of United States history. In a few cases they probably served as slaves together, but their opportunities for mixing probably occurred more frequently in areas of common refuge. An escaped slave had to avoid the white man; land not controlled by the whites was likely to be Indian. Refuge of this sort played an important role before the Seminole Wars, of which it was a

cause (3). Some of the Indian tribes had their own slaves; some of the latter were formally taken into the tribes later in the Indian Territory. Evidence for negro-Indian mixing is also found on visual examination of any of a number of surviving East Coast Indian groups (4); these tribes have evidently absorbed negro blood in large quantities, quite likely during a period when they might otherwise have died out (5). That this period of negro absorption got an early start is attested by historical evidence in the case of the Pamunkey and Mattapony tribes of Virginia (6).

The transition from a bi-racial to a tri-racial society must involve another period of mixing; such an additional mixing should differ from the first in no essential way.

If such a mixed society is not produced in two steps, there remains the possibility that it might have emerged at the point of contact of all three of these groups, probably thrown together under conditions of expulsion by the dominant elements of the larger society about them. If we can pick

(3) Kenneth Porter Wiggins, "Relations between Negroes and Indians within the Present Limits of the United States (1936), 35-64.
(4) E.g., see pictures in Frank G. Speck's "The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia", Indian Notes and Monographs (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1925), V, No.3.
(5) W.A. Plecker, pre-publication prospectus of "Virginia's Vanished Race," 1947, 3.
(6) Petition from citizens of King William County, Va., to General Assembly of Virginia, Jan. 29, 1843, mimeographed copy from Ms. Petitions, King William Co., 1843, B 1207, State Library.

specific examples from the racial mixture occurring in early South America, the Llanero of Venezuela is probably such a type; the Llanero is in a back-country refuge, originally inhabited by Indian tribes, to which fugitive negroes and whites escaped. This conjunction of three races involves the special condition that the negro and white refugees were probably men, and that the initial mixture was made possible by the presence of the native Indian women. A similar situation in Brazil probably occurred in the Valley of the Rio São Francisco (7). No large back-country refuge seems to have developed in the United States ahead of the general European settlement. Smaller areas were available in many states, however. The possibility for such mixture is also present in the midst of any multi-racial society; it occurred in Latin America on a tremendous scale; and some present groups may well have had such an origin.

Since the mixed groups have achieved a considerable population in many cases, it becomes necessary to account for such numbers. Four possibilities are evident. The original mixture may have involved sizable groups of people who were thrown together over some period of time. The original mixture may have involved few people, but the group may have grown by natural reproduction. The original group may have been small, but it may have grown by immigration; other mixed

(7) Raymond E. Crist, "Cultural Cross-Currents in the Valley of the Rio São Francisco", Geographical Review, XXXIV (Oct., 1944), 587-612.

individuals or groups may have joined it. Finally the original mixed group may have grown by intermarriage with racially pure peoples whose progeny thus became part of the mixed group. The last three conditions may also work in reverse to decrease the population of the mixed group. All of these processes likely played some part in the formation of the present population.

If a small mixed group increases by immigration, we must assume that like in some way attracts like. Unexplained evidence of such immigration is given in the pages that follow. If mixed groups are related in such a way that one knows about the other, the emigrants from one may be welcome immigrants to the other. Is it possible that, in the migrations to new lands, mixed peoples tended to stop where they found other mixed peoples? If their appearance kept them out of white society and their own prejudices were against consorting with the negroes, might they have preferred to settle where they found others in the same position? But what might be the chances of random migrants' finding people like themselves? Or might any mixed people provide occasion for settling down?

If the growth of the group is by continued mixing of the mixed people with any or all of the parent races, the possibilities for growth may be particularly great. We may develop a situation wherein anyone of mixed blood belongs to the mixed group. In such event the mixed group can only grow at the expense of the others. The offspring bred from mixed and pure

parentage are all mixed; the maximum potential parentage of the oncoming generation is twice the actual population of the mixed group. This continued mixing may take place with all parent races, or it may proceed with only one; in the latter case the mixed group will approach that race in appearance and ancestry. If the mixture with all parent races continues, the mixed group may be only an ever-changing product of the racial contact.

We will next consider the relation of the mixed group and its activities to the area in which it lives.

The physical refuge area is probably a critical necessity for certain types of mixing, namely those where the large-scale contact between two groups results in the creation of the mixed group. Otherwise it is difficult to see how the transition would be made from a period of racial mixing to one of inbreeding of the mixed descendants. Isolation, if provided, is ideal both for the mixing, if two groups are thrown together, and for the persistence of the mixture, since inbreeding without further mixing becomes the only possibility. The physical isolation may be effected by some kind of topographic barrier or by the occupation of undesirable areas.

Whether or not the occupied area is a natural refuge, the simplest space relationship occurs when the racial mixing and the growth of the group have both taken place in the area in which the group is now found. In another situation the original mixed people may appear under some conditions (conceivably

as a part of one of these mixed groups) and then migrate to another locality where the processes of growth and recognition produce the new group. The mixed group as such may be confined to one area, or it may, after appearing in that area, spread, without loss of identity, to a much wider area, either continuous or discontinuous. Another possibility is that a migration of a group as a whole might take place from one area to another.

The mixed group may be in complete control of the continuous area through which its members are found. Under such circumstances the group may be self-sufficient, perhaps with a complex specialization of functions. On the other hand, it may be dependent on trade with some outside group or even on employment by outsiders. Perhaps, however, the area of continuous distribution involves other people in addition to the half-castes; the members of the mixed group then may form a social and economic class, filling some general function in the area's division of labor in one or a few characteristic ways; or they may operate a society which parallels the others in the area, only the racial distinction being made. If a condition of the group's appearance is its ability to fill a certain social or economic niche, it may very well happen that changing times destroy the original relationship, but that the group finds another niche, perhaps of a different nature, into which it fits.

In case the original mixed society is small, it is

difficult to say when it can be recognized as distinct from a few individual families that are mixed; the latter situation is common, but the former is relatively unusual. Size of such a group is probably a critical factor in its recognition; in connection with this must be its degree of agglomeration or tendency of the people to associate with one another; the latter, in turn, is partially dependent on racial attitudes in the area; there must also be a place for the mixed people as they expand. A group which starts from small beginnings is more likely to obtain recognition if it has a high rate of reproduction; the chance event of such a high rate for as short a period as two generations can greatly expand its numbers before further chance events disperse it or dilute its blood.

Nothing else crystallizes the recognition of one of these groups so clearly as its identification with a distinctive name. The name provides a handle and the possibility of classifying each individual as belonging or not belonging. If the boundaries of the group were vague, they then become sharp. The continued development of the group then proceeds under the condition that the distinct social group already exists and can change only in number.

These principles of classification will be used in connection with the analysis of the individual groups considered later in this thesis. It is believed that they cover the factors that should be considered as critical in the formation

of such groups. A summary of this classification is provided in Table 1.

Table 1

Outline of Classification of Mixed Groups

I. Essential demographic factors
  A. Initial racial mixing
    1. Bi-racial mixing
      (a) White X negro or
      (b) White X Indian or
      (c) Indian X negro or
      (d) Other
    2. Tri-racial mixing
      (a) Bi-racial mixture X third race or
      (b) General mixing at point of contact of three races
  B. Continued inbreeding of mixed group
    1. After large population produced by direct mixing or/and
    2. Continued back-crossing with one or more parent races or/and
    3. Immigration of mixed people from elsewhere or/and
    4. Rapid growth by natural reproduction

II. Conversion to a "group"
  A. Recognition by
  B. Naming as result of
    1. Distinctness or/and
    2. Size

III. Space relationships
  A. Refuge area
    1. Present or
    2. Absent
  B. Continuity of location
    1. Mixing and growth in same area
      (a) Confined to same area or
      (b) Spreading to wider area
        (i) Continuous with old area or
        (ii) Discontinuous with old area
    2. Migration to new area as part of formation
      (a) Mass migration as unit or
      (b) Offshoot of another group or
      (c) Conjunction of random migrants in new area
  C. Relation of group to area
    1. An island; group in complete control of its area or areas
      (a) Self-sufficient
        (i) Without specialization of functions
        or (ii) With specialization of functions
      (b) Dependent on environs
        (i) For trade or
        (ii) For employment
    2. Scattered among other population groups
      (a) Economic functions specialized or
      (b) Economic functioning parallels that of dominant society

III

THE GENETICS OF RACIAL MIXTURE

The questions of caste and social attitudes which have effected the segregation of the mixed groups have as their basis the recognition of racial differences. A major part of this recognition is visual though knowledge or rumor of ancestry may persist with the same result even after the visible differences have disappeared by dilution. The persistence of the visibly mixed group through the generations depends on the manner in which these racial peculiarities are inherited. Knowledge of the genetic mechanisms involved in the transmission of these traits is valuable also in the interpretation of the ancestry of the mixed peoples.

This consideration of the genetics of racial mixture attempts to review briefly the pertinent information which has been obtained on the subject in the hope that it will offer a basis for interpretation of material to follow. It was not possible to obtain field data which might contribute to the knowledge of the processes; anthropometry was impossible because the people resent any recognition of their separate status; the people were usually observed as individuals rather than as families with the suggestion of blood relationships; certain determination of paternity in any specific case would be very difficult for an outsider.

Human genetics is little explored, and most of the specific methods of inheritance of particular traits are still matters of debate. No question exists, however, that crosses between the white and negro races produce individuals who, to varying degrees, show the visible traits of both groups. Many less obvious traits have been shown by anthropometry to follow the same tendency (1). The problem of either visual or anthropometric interpretation of physical features is complicated by their variability in both the parent races involved. The negroes are known to represent several types. While negroes and whites both belong to species Homo sapiens, Haldane (2) says of the so-called white race alone that it exhibits a greater variability of physical traits than any other species of animal not domesticated. Herskovits (3) also notes that the variability of negroes measured in the United States is less than that of the whites in numerous physical traits. This may also have something to do with the report that variability of skin

(1) E.g.: C.B. Davenport and Morris Steggerda, Race Crossing in Jamaica (Washington: The Carnegie Institution, Publication No. 395, 1929); Caroline Bond Day, "A Study of Some Negro-White Families in the United States," Harvard African Studies, X (1932), 3-41; George D. Williams and Joseph D. Applewhite, "Tuberculosis in the Negroes of Georgia," American Journal of Hygiene, XXIX (March, 1939), 61-110.
(2) C.B.S. Haldane, "Evolution: Past and Future," Atlantic Monthly, CLXXIX (March, 1947), 47.
(3) "Race Crossing and Human Heredity," Scientific Monthly, XXXIX (Dec.,1934), 543.

color in a certain sample of United States negroes increased with increasing white intermixture (4). Because of the variability of the parent races, even an exact knowledge of the genetic laws involved would not necessarily open up the possibility of an exact interpretation of ancestry from observation of the physical traits of a mixed group.

The inheritance of the easily observable characteristics which are known to be nearly universal differences between peoples of European and African origin will be examined here. The transmission of none of these characteristics has been worked out with Mendelian exactness, but some general facts have been learned about several of them.

Individual Genetics

The names applied to the negro and white races indicate the most conspicuous difference between the two groups: skin color. Aside from its genic basis, skin color is known to vary with age, exposure to sunlight, part of the body, and perhaps, sex. Most of the measurements of skin color have eliminated the last two variables and, to a large extent, the first; degree of previous exposure to sunlight has not been so easily eliminated even though measurements are usually made on a part of the arm not normally irradiated. There is no simple dominance in the inheritance of skin color in negro-white

(4) Irene Barnes, "The Inheritance of Pigmentation in the American Negro," Human Biology, I (Sept., 1929), 379.

crosses; nor is there a large degree of reversion to the original types in the next (F_2) generation of such crosses. That a segregation does occur in the F_2 and succeeding generations has been shown by numerous observations of considerable color variety in individual families (5). Geneticists agree that color must be determined jointly by genes at several chromosome loci, not linked to one another, whose alleles do not bear a simple dominant-recessive relationship to one another. Under such conditions segregation of the F_2 generation into several degrees of skin color is predicted, the extremes being least probable. As a result of work on skin colors in Jamaica, Davenport (6) suggests two as a likely number of independently acting factors for skin color in such crosses, thus determining five degrees of color if the two gene pairs are identical or as many as nine if they are different; but Barnes points out that this conclusion is based on a questionable interpretation of the color composition (7). Others have suggested larger numbers such as four, and the number must be fairly large if, under this theory, we accept the observation of Herskovits that, in numerous cases where mulatto people were

(5) Reginald Ruggles Gates, Human Genetics (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1946), II, 1400.
(6) Charles B. Davenport, Heredity of Skin Color in Negro-White Crosses (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1913), 47.
(7) Op. cit., 326.

examined with the color top, the offspring was never much darker or much lighter in color than the parent of greater tendency in that direction (8). If dominance is quantitatively entirely absent, however, it is difficult to understand Barnes's observation that average pigmentation trends from the parents' average toward the average of the group (9). If a number of genes determine pigmentation completely without dominance, the degree of pigmentation must depend on the number and effect of such genes present; and the individual can be pigmented to no greater degree than the sum of degrees of pigmentation of his parents (since the factor for pigmentation in such quantitative inheritance has no latent property). The deficiency below maximum pigmentation will likewise, at the most, equal the total of such deficiencies in the individual's parents. Thus it is possible for full negro or white offspring to occur from crosses of true mulattoes, but such complete reversion should be very rare. The appearance of the "black baby" from apparently white parents, even if both are mixed, is considered impossible. (This "throw-back" theme is a favorite with novelists who consider these mixed peoples.)

Whatever this hereditary function, the genes control in some manner the tendency for the pigments to be deposited in the skin in certain quantity. The most important of these is

(8) Op. cit., 543.
(9) Op. cit., 326.

the black pigment melanin which occurs in the form of granules of relatively uniform size regardless of concentration(10). The concentration of melanin, in turn, determines the skin color, but it should be remembered, in this connection, that the quantitative expression of "darkness," as we measure it visually or as it may be instrumentally determined, will not bear the same relation to the gene assemblage as does the quantity of pigment. The lighter the skin, the more effective the marginal unit of pigment must be. Though some report to the direct contrary (11), Day and Hooton present evidence that the negroid skin color disappears faster on mixing than the above considerations predicate. With a 7-point color scale one-eighth of the $\frac{1}{2}$N (negro) males and one-fifth of the $\frac{1}{2}$N females in their sample were reported white; the proportion was 85% in $\frac{1}{4}$N females (12).

Aside from skin coloring, the form of hair is probably the most striking trait in which the negro differs in appearance from the white. Since skin as dark as that possessed by most of the mixed-bloods could have been inherited from any of several peoples, the kinky hair, where it shows up, is

(10) H.E. Jordan, "Comparative Microscopic Study of the Melanin Content of Pigmented Skins with Special Reference to the Question of Color Inheritance among Mulattoes," American Naturalist, XLV (August, 1911), 465.
(11) Barnes, op.cit., 326; W. Montague Cobb, "Physical Anthropology of the American Negro," American Journal of Physical Anthropology, XXIX (March, 1942), 174.
(12) Earnest A. Hooton "The Anthropometry of Some Small Samples of American Negroes and Negroids," Harvard African Studies, X, 83.

probably the most distinctive mark of negro blood*. The Moors of Delaware recognize this fact in referring to the "bad hair" possessed by some of their fellows (13). A few cases have been reported in which kinky hair appeared as a mutant in Europeans or white Americans who demonstrably had no negro ancestry (14); such instances are too rare to consider in the present work, however.

The kinkiness of the hair is considered to be more persistent in mixtures than skin color or any other easily observed negroid trait. Day (15) reported that ½N males and females and 3/4N females exhibited the entire range of hair curvatures generally recognized. Though ½N individuals nearly always have noticeably lighter skin colors, they may still have the characteristic negroid hair form. This tendency of the kinky and curly types to dominate is confirmed by other observations, which Gates summarizes to the effect that kinky, peppercorn, curly, wavy, and straight hair may all be determined by alleles at the same locus of a chromosome pair, hypostasis favoring each over succeeding items in the list (16); but he adds that the straight hair of the American Indian seems to represent differences of several factors from the kinky hair of the negro on the basis that intermediate types appear. Others have

*Blood, as used here and below, refers to racial composition of ancestry; it may be quite different from genotype.

(13) C.A. Weslager, Delaware's Forgotten Folk (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943), 12.
(14) Gates, op. cit., II, 1354.
(15) Op. cit., 84.
(16) Op. cit., II, 1356.

concluded that kinky hair is determined by a gene operating independently of the others. Whatever the specific mechanism of inheritance, it seems that the expression of hair curvature may be measured quantitatively with curly and wavy as intermediates between kinky and straight. Curly hair may frequently represent a modification of the greater curvature of kinkiness as a result of crossing the latter with a nearly straight type. The studies of Day (17) in the United States and of Davenport and Steggerda (18) in Jamaica show that the mixed people have hair of intermediate curvature on the average, but of wide variability. Normal overlap between whites and negroes is negligible.

Eye color and hair color of negroes is usually dark in keeping with pigmentation of the skin. The color here is not so effectively dominated by a single pigment, however, and the available studies on color inheritance are not conclusive enough to be very useful to us. Also the white race approaches or overlaps the negro range in these factors too often to make them very useful in making distinctions (19). Light color of eye and hair, however, may safely be taken as indicating a strong proportion of white ancestry. As in the case of the skin, color of both eye and hair may be a function of age. Fifty mixed people in Jamaica (probably more negro than white) exhibited no cases of blue eyes though light brown and hazel

(17) Op. cit., 84.
(18) Op. cit., 260-1.
(19) Ibid., 252-3, 256-7.

appeared; the same group had hair as light as light brown, but 88% were still classified as black (20).

The wide nose of the negro is an easily observable feature in most cases. Its appearance may be expressed quantitatively by the nasal index or ratio of breadth to height; the mixtures lie between negro and white values for this feature (21). Another identifying feature of the negro is his thick everted lip; it is known to diminish quantitatively on mixture with other races (22).

Several observers have reported a linkage between the factors for eye, hair, and skin color in the sense that darkness of one is likely to be accompanied by darkness of the others (23). This linkage has been found in European population groups, presumed to be thoroughly mixed internally, as well as in groups comprising white-negro mixtures. A single gene favoring melanin pigmentation in all three parts might be responsible for such a relationship.

Hooton and Day reported that some negroid body dimensions tend to persist in mixtures while the nasal index changes (24); the latter was closely correlated with color. Williams and Applewhite found that, of ten anthropometric items

(20) Ibid.
(21) Ibid., 180; Williams and Applewhite, op.cit., 81.
(22) Williams and Applewhite, op. cit., 79.
(23) Gates, op. cit., I, 84, 120.
(24) Op. cit., 80.

recognizably characteristic of the negro race, certain ones tend to appear in crosses only when other such items are present while others were relatively independent of the presence of other negroid traits (25). The items of the former class were, in order of decreasing tendency in that direction, skin color, hair form, nasal wings, and lip thickness. As individual factors they are considered then to be particularly useful for identifying negro blood in possible negro-white crosses. This is not necessarily a matter of chromosome linkage; the traits like skin color, inherited through several genes, have a great persistence in mixture and are less likely to appear in unmixed whites.

Day's report contains particularly interesting material regarding the recognizability of negro blood in these mixtures (26). Of 35 negroes of her record who were able to pass as white, 16 were quadroons, 15 terceroons (3/8 N), and four true mulattoes. She considers the dominant type of mulatto to have skin color occasionally fair enough for a swarthy European, brown hair with deep waves, and medium features. The quadroons she observed never showed all three of the following: swarthy skin, frizzly hair, and heavy features; in fact two such features in combination were rare in quadroons. The small number of octoroons examined showed no traces of negro features. She states that she has never seen a quadroon who could not pass

(25) Op. cit., 81.
(26) Op. cit., 11.

as white.

It is plain that, if Day's observations are representative and correct, the mixed-bloods must have a larger fraction of negro blood than the casual observer would believe from skin color alone (assuming them to be white-negro crosses). It is also a reasonable conclusion that the mixed negroes one can recognize in the negro population of any northern city are probably in good part those bearing 3/4 and 5/8 negro blood rather than the mulattoes they are likely to be considered.

Group Genetics

Whereas the preceding pages have summarized the information concerning inheritance of certain specific characteristics in individuals, the pages immediately following will consider the application of these rules to the composition of populations. A consideration of group genetics necessarily involves assumptions as to the initial source and make-up of the population and as to the degree of selection in mating. Development of the mixed population will be discussed under various assumptions; and some examples will be worked out for simple cases. Too little is known about the basic gene relationships involved in any tri-racial mixing to extend instructively these examples beyond the assumption of two parent races (since the most important social effects in our tri-racial societies concern negroid appearance, it might be reasonable to introduce symbolically Indian blood into a negro-white mixture by attributing

to the Indian that combination of negro and white genes which would most nearly match his characteristics; in this manner he could be considered without enlarging the bi-racial gene pool from which the traits must be drawn; such an artifical procedure could be applied only to factors whose variations are essentially quantitative, not at all to factors controlled by complete gene dominance).

The first case to be considered involves an endogamous mixed population in which panmixy prevails. The composition depends on the gene population of the group, which, in turn, depends on the type of original mixing which created it. The significant genes will occur in all possible combinations, each in numerical proportion to its probability of being drawn from the original gene population. A group of genes may occur on the same chromosome and be inherited as a unit, or linked; here the possible combinations are considerably fewer in number. If the cross-over frequency and the number of generations of mixture are jointly great enough, however, even these genes would appear at random distribution in the mixed population (but not in considering the inheritance in a specific case).

The general principles involved can be shown by the consideration of a specific case. Assume three pairs of independent, significant genes identified by the letters a, b, and c for the white characteristics, the respective alleles for the negroid characteristics being indicated by <u>a</u>, <u>b</u>, and <u>c</u>.

The chance of occurrence of any gene is equal to its fraction in the gene population for its chromosome locus, which should be approximately the fraction of the race it represents in the population (if we can treat Indian blood as a combination of white and negro traits as suggested on page 39, then the genes representing the traits of one race would appear in different proportions). If, however, the mixed group has appeared from the multiplication of a small initial population, the frequency of one or more of the genes may be quite different from the proportion of the race it represents. Table 2 shows possible combinations of genes and the proportions of each to be expected under certain stated conditions. Table 3 shows the fractions of each population having the appearance of being mixed in the stated proportions assuming that all the genes have equal value and that no dominance exists; for this purpose it may be assumed that all the genes are factors for skin color, or it may be assumed that each pair controls a different trait. In actuality the number of racial differences is undoubtedly many more. Questions of dominance also would complicate the figures. We can safely say that pure types are very rare in a mixed population with equal parts of two races. In the case of unequal mixture the occurrence of the pure type of the majority race is much more likely, but the mode will occur near the fraction of the mixture.

The greater the number of factors involved, the lower

Table 2

Equilibrium Genotype Compositions of Random-Mixed Populations

Type	Negro Fraction	Fraction of Population Under Assumption A	B	C
aabbcc	0	.0156	.1780	.0352
aabbcc	1/6	.0313	.1187	.0234
aabbcc	1/3	.0156	.0198	.0039
aabbcc	1/6	.0313	.1187	.0703
aabbcc	1/3	.0625	.0791	.0469
aabbcc	1/2	.0313	.0132	.0078
aabbcc	1/3	.0156	.0198	.0352
aabbcc	1/2	.0313	.0132	.0234
aabbcc	2/3	.0156	.0022	.0039
aabbcc	1/6	.0313	.1187	.0703
aabbcc	1/3	.0625	.0791	.0469
aabbcc	1/2	.0313	.0132	.0078
aabbcc	1/3	.0625	.0791	.1406
aabbcc	1/2	.1250	.0527	.0938
aabbcc	2/3	.0625	.0088	.0156
aabbcc	1/2	.0313	.0132	.0703
aabbcc	2/3	.0625	.0088	.0469
aabbcc	5/6	.0313	.0015	.0078
aabbcc	1/3	.0156	.0198	.0352
aabbcc	1/2	.0313	.0132	.0234
aabbcc	2/3	.0156	.0022	.0039
aabbcc	1/2	.0313	.0132	.0703
aabbcc	2/3	.0625	.0088	.0469
aabbcc	5/6	.0313	.0015	.0078
aabbcc	2/3	.0156	.0022	.0352
aabbcc	5/6	.0313	.0015	.0234
aabbcc	1	.0156	.0002	.0039

A - random-mixed half-white, half-negro population
B - random-mixed three-quarter white, one-quarter negro population
C - random-mixed population with gene frequency of 50% each for a and b(a and b), 75% for c, and 25% for c.

Table 3

Equilibrium Phenotype Compositions of Random Mixed Populations from Table 2.

Genotype Negro Fraction	Fraction of Population Under Assumption A	B	C
0	.0156	.1780	.0352
1/6	.0939	.3561	.1640
1/3	.2343	.2967	.3087
1/2	.3128	.1319	.2968
2/3	.2343	.0330	.1524
5/6	.0939	.0045	.0390
1	.0156	.0002	.0039

is the frequency of pure types. In white-negro mixtures it is known that small fractions of negro blood are often unrecognizable; it undoubtedly follows that genotypes which are negro only to a small degree produce phenotypes which are not recognizably different from white. Hence the recognition of negro blood requires a certain fraction of significant genes in the genotype. Nevertheless, as the total number of significant genes increases, the smaller becomes the chance of getting combinations that result in apparently pure phenotypes. The larger the number of genes involved, the greater is the concentration of the population in a stated interval (of fractional racial appearance) about the mode of the gene frequency relative to the parent races.

The distributions of genotypes given above result from the random distributions of genes from the assumed gene populations. In a complex mixed population such a distribution is not normally approached for several generations. When achieved, however, in a closed pan-mixing population, the composition of the genotype population normally maintains an equilibrium through succeeding generations (barring changes due to the accumulation of random variations).

This matter of equilibrium in the population composition is of interest relative to a statement of Hooton, "Negroid features seem to be attenuated, rather than intensified, by

successive generations of inbreeding of mixed types, even when approximately identical proportions of blood are maintained. White features seem to gain upon negro features." (27) This attenuation is attributed to complications of the Mendelian inheritance of multiple factors. Since I, during the field visits, was occasionally told that the mixed people looked more like whites than formerly, as the dark strain seemed to be "running out," the possible mechanisms of such a phenomenon are of interest. It is evident that this attenuation process cannot continue once equilibrium is achieved, whether the inheritance mechanisms are simple or complex.

Then under what conditions may it occur? First assume a population of first generation mulattoes, necessary starting point for any negro-white crosses. These people are heterozygous for all significant genes (type aabbcc.....). Inbreeding of this generation in which every significant white or negro gene occurs with a frequency of 50% will necessarily produce the equilibrium population; the next generation will be determined by completely random choice of genes from each parent by each individual. More generally any bi-racial mixed group which does not involve back-crosses with the parent races consists of individuals whose blood background is evenly divided; if selective migration has not occurred the same will apply to the gene populations, and an equilibrium population

(27) Op. cit., 107.

composition is to be expected of any generation not including first-generation mulattoes. In such a population, no attenuation of negroid characteristics controlled by Mendelian laws can occur except in the one-generation change from first- to second-generation mulattoes. The net change in this generation increases the proportion of traits for which the individual is homozygous, with a corresponding reduction in heterozygousness.

Back-crosses between mulattoes and one or both of the parent races not only increase the proportion of traits for which the individual is homozygous above the equilibrium level, but they also result in a concentration of homozygous traits which favor the one parent race involved. Thus the random inbreeding of a population produced partially by back-crossing involves a trend toward the equilibrium as this coincident homozygousness is replaced by random homozygousness and heterozygousness. The group extremes lose population to the types closer to the mean.

Changes in composition due to crossing-over in a population otherwise in equilibrium involve the reduction of coincidence of genes favoring each parent race. In an organism with 24 chromosome pairs the a priori probability is that chromosome linkages are unimportant in comparison with the independence of traits on different chromosomes.

In a selectively inbreeding population, as demonstrated

on page 45, coincident homozygousness will increase, the reverse of the process occurring in a back-crossed population later inbreeding at random.

Progressive changes in the composition of the genotype population then may occur under the following conditions: (1) separation of linked genes by cross-overs; (2) random inbreeding of a population containing back-crosses; (3) selective inbreeding; (4) selective immigration or emigration; (5) genetic selection if a lethal gene combination tends to eliminate certain linked or incidentally associated characteristics; and a one-generation change is involved in the crossing of first-generation mulattoes. Since some of these conditions tend to change the composition of the genotype population in one direction while others change it in the opposite direction, since some of the conditions are rather unlikely, and since some of them involve complicating factors not easily controlled by the observer, it is doubted that any observations made to date are adequate for supporting such a theory of attenuation of negroid features in the general case. It will be assumed that any progressive lightening of skin color in the mixed groups results from dilution with the white race.

The second condition to be considered in an endogamous mixed population excludes panmixy. Two types of causes are likely to operate in preventing random mixing. In the first

case the larger group may be broken down into smaller groups which tend to marry among themselves because of locational convenience or social distinctions. If this condition is thoroughly applied we may have panmixy within each of a number of small endogamous groups; if in-marriage is only preferred to exogamy, then each separate group is affected by outside infiltration, which will be considered later. The second type involves a selection in which like prefers like or ends up by marrying like because of competition with respect to some trait such as color. (A tendency among the negro population for men to marry women of lighter color (28) probably could be analysed as a modification of this condition.)

For a simple example illustrating the results of such selection, we will use the nomenclature of the previous example reduced to two factors (both equal in value with no dominance) applied to skin color. The results are summarized in Table 4.

In this simple system the whites and negroes (i.e., by genotype, not necessarily by blood) will breed true, and their number will be supplemented slowly by the pure strains resulting from recombination of factors in the marriages of the mixed group. This can be generalized to state that the tendency of like to marry like in a previously mixed population results eventually in segregation into the original types.

(28) Herskovits, "The Color Line," American Mercury, VI (Oct., 1925), 207.

Table 4

Examples Illustrating the Results of Selective Endogamy

A. Distribution of equilibrium population exhibiting the properties resulting from 50-50 white-negro mixture with two gene pairs involved (designations 1/2N, 1/4N, etc., refer to genotype, not blood):

Genotype		Fraction of Population
white		1/16
aabb	1/16	
1/4N		1/4
aabb	1/8	
aabb	1/8	
1/2N		3/8
aabb	1/16	
aabb	1/4	
aabb	1/16	
3/4N		1/4
aabb	1/8	
aabb	1/8	
negro		1/16
aabb	1/16	

B. Crosses resulting from selective mating according to color:

white X white

parents→	aabb
aabb	aabb

result: white

1/4N X 1/4N

parents→	2aabb	2aabb
2aabb	aabb 2aabb aabb	aabb aabb aabb aabb
2aabb	aabb aabb aabb aabb	aabb 2aabb aabb

result: 1/4 white
1/2 1/4N
1/4 1/2N

Table 4 (cont.)

1/2N X 1/2N

parents→ ↓	aabb	4aabb	aabb
aabb	aabb	aabb aabb aabb aabb	aabb
4aabb	aabb aabb aabb aabb	aabb 2aabb aabb 2aabb 4aabb 2aabb aabb 2aabb aabb	aabb aabb aabb aabb
aabb	aabb	aabb aabb aabb aabb	aabb

result: 1/36 white
2/9 1/4N
1/2 1/2N
2/9 3/4N
1/36 negro

3/4N X 3/4N: 1/4 1/2N
1/2 3/4N
1/4 negro

negro X negro: negro

C. Overall result of this selective crossing:

Genotype	Fraction of Population Before	After
white	6/96	13/96
1/4N	24/96	20/96
1/2N	36/96	30/96
3/4N	24/96	20/96
negro	6/96	13/96

Mixed types might, however, be quantitatively preserved in a rapidly growing population; in such event the emigration of pure or nearly pure types would still leave a mixed population.

An important result of inbreeding of small sub-groups, whether stimulated by preference of like for like or by social ties, is the tendency to develop or to maintain homozygousness with respect to the significant preferences in the former case, with respect to any unusual gene concentrations in the sub-group in the latter case. The result will be particularly different from panmixy if a dominant-recessive relationship exists between the alleles. In a like-marry-like society the tendency is toward homozygousness and the segregation of the population into types whose numbers are porportional to the respective gene populations involved. This may mean a large number showing a recessive trait which might otherwise be quite obscure. In unselective inbreeding any recessive trait concentrated in the sub-group will have a greater frequency of expression. It is suggested that one or both of these factors acts in the concentration of unusual traits such as red hair or gray eyes among certain family groups discussed later.

The next condition to be considered involves a breaking down of complete endogamy by continued mixing with one of the

parent races. The normal result of such mixing is to increase the participation of that race in the gene population of the mixed group. It will also raise above normal the proportion of individuals bearing coincident factors which favor that race. If the mixing is selective, tending to involve members of the mixed group who resemble closely the race involved, then its effect will be most marked in the population at that end of the scale, increasing greatly thenumber who favor that race.

Such absorption into the mixed group may also involve both parent races. If both these back-crossings occur at random, the proportion of people bearing coincident genes for each race will be increased. If this absorption of members of the two parent races occurs at a constant rate, then an equilibrium population may be maintained as a dynamic reaction between the two parent races. If the intermarriage is selective, then the proportions of extreme types will be even more increased.

A situation realistic for many of the groups involves intermarriage with the parent races along with selective emigration from the groups. If members appear who resemble whites and negroes, it is likely that the former will move away to a place where they can pass as white, while the latter may find a more welcome reception from the negroes. Several cases have been reported in which the mixed group seems to mix only

with the whites, while a stream of mixed-bloods moves off to where it can pass as white. If the population is numerically stable, i.e., if it is just able to reproduce itself, the result of this process must be a gradual dilution of the mixed-blood group with white traits. "White" genes are being added; those lost by emigration are mostly white, but include some negroid types. Since the population of stable characteristics is continually losing colored genes, their concentration must diminish. If, on the other hand, the population is growing biologically and the emigration of passers exceeds the immigration of whites, then we may have a numerically stable or increasing population which is replacing by natural reproduction the negroid genes lost in emigration. Particularly if mating is selective, the result of these processes can well be a maintenance of the negroid gene concentration or even an increase of it. The net result of emigration alone is a concentration of negroid genes in the population. At equilibrium in both numbers and composition this loss of "white" genes is compensated by immigration and reproductive growth while the loss of negroid genes must be compensated by reproductive growth alone; hence such an equilibrium population must be growing biologically.

Other situations, if identified, could also make interesting cases of genetic changes in the population of the mixed groups. If any negro-white differences depend on X-chromosome

genes, the factor would be sex-linked. No such factors have been identified among the white-negro differences though minor sex differences have been noted in the inheritance of color and other physical features.

IV

THE CAJANS OF SOUTHWEST ALABAMA

The concept of a racial island is as nearly embodied in the Cajans of Alabama as in any group in the United States of the type included in this study. A line can be drawn around a compact area of 175 square miles (Fig. 1) to include the residences of about 2000 of these people and few others; except for 60 families around an old company logging town in the area, the non-Cajan part of its population amounts to less than ten per cent. Beyond the boundary referred to above are other Cajans who do not live among Cajan groups and who exhibit varying degrees of dilution of Cajan blood and whose social status and opportunities vary accordingly.

This Cajan island is most distinct in the social terms of the bars to intermarriage with whites and negroes, and the segregation of the Cajans in special schools. Economically the island concept holds in terms of their general confinement to forest industries; these industries are not reserved exclusively for Cajans, however, nor is the Cajans' employment in them confined to the forests in their own area of residence. Their economy is commercial in the fact that they depend for the goods they consume on cash obtained from the sale of forest products, and from wages often paid by white employers.

The Cajans resemble other mixed groups in that the variety of physical types in the ancestors reappears in lesser degree in the present population. The few generations of their history

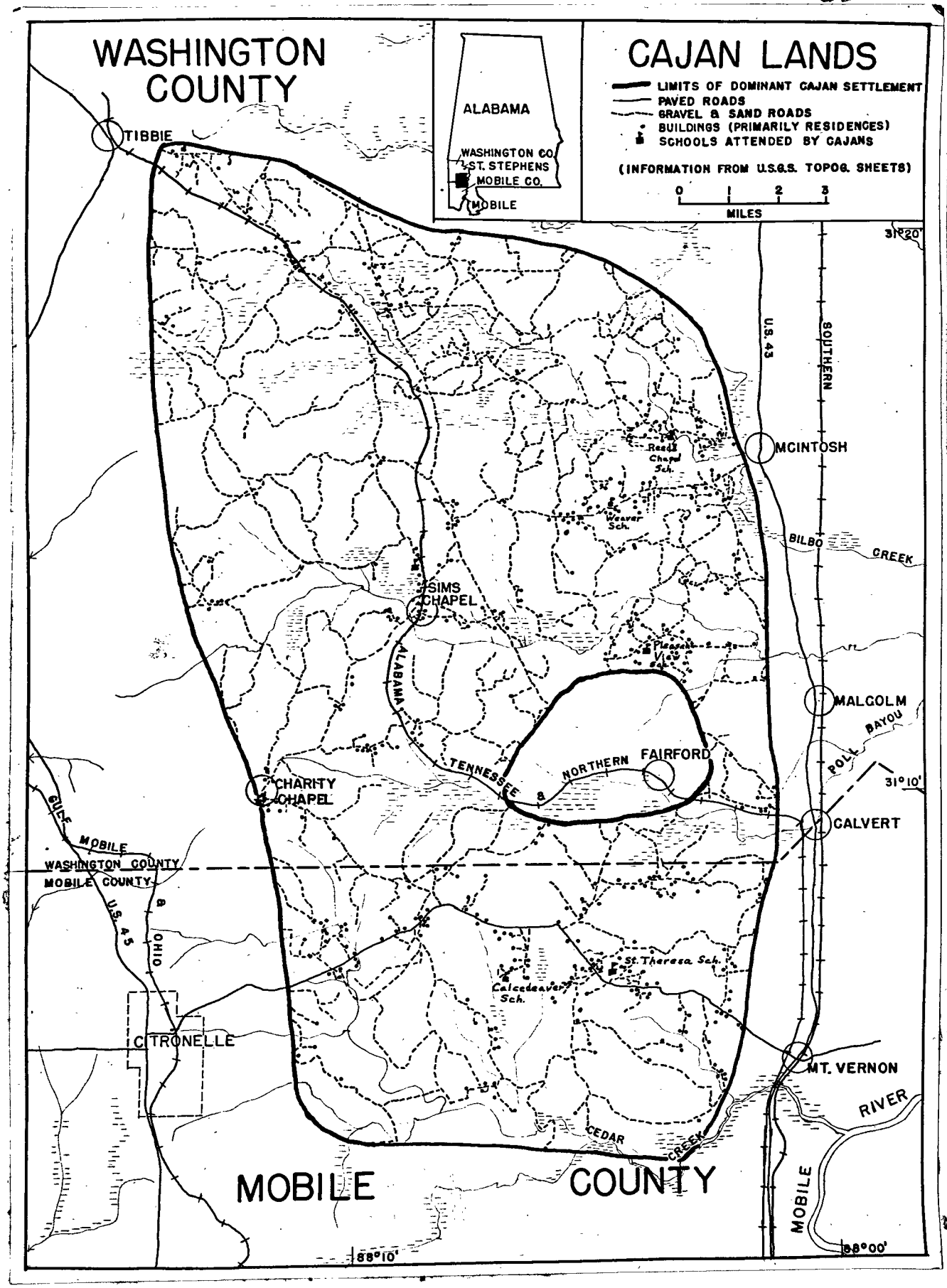

WASHINGTON COUNTY
TIBBIE
ALABAMA
WASHINGTON CO.
ST. STEPHENS
MOBILE CO.
MOBILE
CAJAN LANDS
LIMITS OF DOMINANT CAJAN SETTLEMENT
PAVED ROADS
GRAVEL & SAND ROADS
BUILDINGS (PRIMARILY RESIDENCES)
SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY CAJANS
(INFORMATION FROM U.S.G.S. TOPOG. SHEETS)
0 1 2 3
MILES
31°20'
U.S. 43
SOUTHERN
MCINTOSH
Reed's Chapel Sch.
Weaver Sch.
BILBO CREEK
SIMS CHAPEL
ALABAMA
Pleasant Hill
MALCOLM
POLL BAYOU
TENNESSEE & NORTHERN
FAIRFORD
31°10'
CHARITY CHAPEL
CALVERT
GULF
MOBILE
WASHINGTON COUNTY
MOBILE COUNTY
U.S. 45
&
OHIO
St. Theresa Sch.
Calcedeaver Sch.
CTRONELLE
MT. VERNON
RIVER
CEDAR CREEK
MOBILE COUNTY
MOBILE
88°10'
88°00'

Fig. 1.

have not produced a homogeneous mixture (allowing for normal genetic segregation) in the population, nor can such be expected as long as the present social attitudes prevail. The Cajans are a people in terms of their geographical separation, in terms of similarity of distinction from the surrounding population, and in terms of past inter-mixture and consequent blood relationship. They are not one people, however, in the sense that these ties and common problems have united them in purpose to work in coöperation for common ends. The internal tendency of the group is centrifugal, and the individual or community will make the highest claim it can in the direction of white status, shunning others who might be considered as drawbacks to that end. This is a logical result of mixture in a larger bi-racial society which offers such unequal opportunities to its two branches.

In spite of internal disunity and a degree of external mixing, the tendency of this island situation to dissolve by decrease in either population or intensity (difference in color from the white standard) seems to be very slight. The greatest recent change is probably due to some acceptance of very thin Cajan blood by white society, but a general lowering of white barriers against negro blood is not to be expected. The Cajans are not likely to budge in the direction of fusion with negro society.

The Cajans are described below in more detail than other groups because in this island-like situation, in spite of its

imperfection, the separate society is more tangible, and its relation to its resources more specific.

Differentiation from Other People in Southwestern Alabama

It is safely stated that Cajan is not a generic term applying to all mixed people in the area under discussion; the proof lies in the fact that other mixed groups are called by other names. The old term Creole has been appropriated in various parts of the Gulf Coast by part-negro people to the point that it has numerous local meanings. Specifically in southwestern Alabama certain white-negro mixtures, mostly of French names and Catholic religion, are now called Creoles; these people are numerous in the city of Mobile (where they have long had their own fire department and where they used to be separately designated in the city directory) and are also scattered in rural settlements around Mobile Bay. Another mixed group in southwestern Alabama involves what is considered the remnant of a group of Creek Indians living in Escambia County east of the Alabama River; they are rather few in number and are known as Indians or occasionally Rednecks (a term used in Mississippi for poor white farmers).

Cajans are generally known and recognized by that name only in and near the area inhabited mostly by them; some move away to cities and distant places where the term Cajan has no significance and their identity is not known, but such emigrants continue to be Cajans in the minds of white natives

of southern Washington County. Cajans usually differ from Creoles in having English names and in being Protestant in religion, but neither of these rules is universal. The fringes of the Cajan and Creole areas overlap slightly in northeastern Mobile County; social relations on this spot are not known, but it is doubted if any clear distinctions are made.

The term Cajan applies to a specific group of people of recognized mixture and blood relationship living in and near a certain area. Their immediate ancestors were Cajans, and their children will automatically be Cajans. Should a white person marry into the group and live with them, his status would gradually change from that of "a white man who married a Cajan" to that of one of the lighter-skinned Cajans. Should a mixed-blood family from elsewhere move into the area and join the society, its historical difference would probably soon be forgotten - and it is doubted if the blood make-up of the Cajans would be essentially changed thereby. A mulatto born in the region of white-negro crossing would not be considered a Cajan, though it is possible that circumstances might later bring him into the group. Toward movements out of the Cajan group the memory of the neighboring citizen is probably longer and more unrelenting. The white-appearing family in the nearby town is not entirely accepted because the mother's father came from one of the Cajan families - and all the old stock in the town know it even though business and social reasons may make it an improper subject of conversation.

It is possible to become slowly "de-Cajanized" through a process of generations, however. Thus, though it is implicit in the ordinary use of the term, the Cajan population does not constitute a perfectly closed system.*

These borderline cases of Cajan status are also likely to be borderline in appearance. A Cajan has no chance of gaining advanced status unless he can appear as white. Likewise a Cajan who closely resembles the negro race might be cast out by the Cajans who have drawn a sharp line against the negro. The negroes, in turn, have considerable contempt for the Cajans and usually have little to do with them.

We may define a Cajan, then, as one of a specific concentration of mixed-blood people living in or near a home area in northern Mobile County and southern Washington County, Alabama, and recognized by other people of the environs as belonging to this group. More broadly the term Cajan may also include those who have sprung from this group in past time.

The name Cajan is almost certainly picked up from the Louisiana corruption of "Acadian", namely "Cajun". The difference in spelling is only a matter of practice on the part of those who have put the name in writing. According to local

*Some insist on the term "Cajan nigger", and a few diehards refuse to recognize any position or blood beyond that accorded the negro.

tradition the first to apply the name to the Alabama people was State Senator L. W. McRae, who wished to dignify this strange group of his constituents with a name which had been previously lacking (1). Supposedly he found some resemblance to the more famous Louisiana Cajuns. This story was confirmed by Senator McRae's son, Malcolm McRae, who dated the act as about 1885. The term is regularly used at the present, though displeasing to its objects.

Physical Characteristics and Appearance

The blood of the Cajans is said to stem from white, negro, and Indian sources; some French and Spanish sources may be included in the first. The fact of mixture is evident in the variety of physical types and in the fact that few would be identified by appearance with any of the three races mentioned or with any other relatively homogeneous group of people. Few of the Cajans could pass unnoticed in a group of white Americans chosen at random; their skin is usually a medium brown or tan which might be matched among certain peoples of southern Asia or the Middle East. Among a group of black negroes in the Cotton Belt the Cajan would again probably stand out, because of his lighter skin and lack of other distinct negroid features; among a group of more mixed negroes in a northern city the Cajan might be in a minority, but he would not be entirely out

(1) Ms. prepared by James Granade, Chatom, Ala., 1941.

of place. Neither could the Cajan match the bronze skin of the aboriginal North American Indian or his traditionally prominent facial features. The skin color of the Cajan then is both variable and intermediate, but usually, in his Alabama locality, identifies him as mixed. The brown Cajan usually has dark to black hair which is more likely curly than not. Light to dark red hair is also borne by some individuals, especially in the Byrd family; it seems to correlate positively though not strikingly with lighter skin color and freckles and to show some curliness. Blondes are not unknown, even in families of brown parents and some brown children; some people who know the families are convinced that these variations are due to hereditary segregation, at least in specific cases, and not to marital irregularities. A truly kinky hair may be taken as strong evidence of negro blood, and this characteristic is found in a small part of the Cajan population; hair curled in small ringlets is much more common, especially among children; straight, black hair is also common, especially among the women when it has been allowed to grow long. Eyes are usually dark, and the white of the eyeball sometimes shows the cloudy network of veins characteristic of the negro. Gray eyes, however, are frequent among members of the Rivers family, and they contrast strangely with the brown skin. The facial features are generally neither prominent nor distinctive; since the two dark-skinned races supposed to be parental are usually credited with prominent and distinctive

facial features, it seems that evidence of their skin color may be a more persistent trait.

In general there are among the Cajans more characteristics reminding one of negroes than of Indians, though it must be remembered that the eastern Indians may not have been greatly different from Europeans in head features. Kinky and curly hair, widening of the nostrils near the base of the nose, and thicker lips crop up with varying frequency. I have seen none who look strikingly like Indians.

In such a mixed population, the typical Cajan cannot be defined. There is a type encountered frequently enough to warrant description, however. It involves the dark to black curly hair, a flat-brown complexion almost suggesting a touch of gray, broad vertical forehead or, perhaps, high forehead with a slight backslope; the facial profile is flat to moderately rounded while the nose and lower face are generally rounded in outline.

No peculiarities of stature or size were noted.

Location and Habitat

The Cajan area forms a characteristic part of the Pine Hills Belt of the Alabama Coastal Plain. From the divide limiting the eastern headwaters of the Escatawpa River, the upland slopes down toward the east from a height of around 300 feet to approximately sea level at the Tombigbee River. East-flowing tributaries of the Tombigbee have trenched the

upland in broad shallow valleys, generally parallel to one another but with random tributaries, between the gently sloping ridges. The Coastal Plain deposits of which the land is composed are mostly unconsolidated sands with occasional outcrops of red clays. The steep stream gradients, sometimes exceeding 10 feet to the mile, seem inconsistent with their swampy bottoms, but may be a result of the recent deposition of coarse materials eroded from the deforested uplands; a report published during the period of deforestation states that swamps, bays, and flats were absent from these stream channels (2). The stream valleys are occasionally broken up into nearly separate basins; and occasional low spots, flat, round, and wet, appear on the upland, possibly representing an old marine deposition not yet integrated into the stream system.

The upland is hilly in nature, but steep slopes are unusual, and the topography is not rough. The soils of this upland belong mostly to Norfolk and related series (3); they are predominantly composed of light-colored sands and are poor for holding water and soluble or exchangeable plant nutrients. The agricultural advisers categorically recommend non-agricultural uses. The occasional fertile spots are usually red in color and contain clay, either throughout or at a shallow

(2) Eugene A. Smith, Lawrence C. Johnson, and Daniel W. Langdon, Jr., Geology of the Coastal Plain of Alabama, (Montgomery, Ala.: The Brown Printing Co., 1894), 702-3.
(3) U.S.D.A., Soil Survey of Mobile County, Alabama (Washington, D.C.; Government Printing Office, 1930).

depth; such spots are found around Citronelle and east of Chunchula (a few miles farther south),but the few that appear in the Cajan area are very small. Where they occur as level patches on hilltops, they are termed "clay knolls". The modeling of banks along road cuts indicates a great erodibility of most of the surface material and may account for the prevailing gentleness of the slopes. Light colors in soils are often considered as signs of loss of the topsoil through erosion; such could well be the case in these pine hills where deforestation and repeated fires have left the surface open to such action. Bare open spaces are brilliant in the summer sun.

Pine forests originally occupied the upland areas (about 90%) of this land; the predominant long-leaf pine (Pinus palustris) grew to a size of a few feet in diameter and formed a park-like forest carrying also a diversified ground vegetation (4). That the pine forests may have occupied some poorly drained land too is indicated by the fact that wet spots, properly protected, will become covered with volunteer pines and become progressively drier; the slash pine (P. Ellioti) has favored the wet locations. These versatile southern pines are believed to have required occasional fires for their reproduction (5). Today a stand of virgin pine is not to be found;

(4) Roland M. Harper, Forests of Alabama (Geological Survey of Alabama, Monograph 10, University, Ala., 1943), 34, 192.
(5) Ibid., 38.

the state of the forests re-growth depends on the recent continuity of fire protection (Figs. 2 and 3). The largest trees to be found in the area run about 12 inches in diameter and never occur in stands so dense that grass and other herbaceous plants do not cover the ground. The greater part of the area has trees of much smaller size with continuous meadows and pastures between. These trees include both pines and scrub oaks, and in many places one sees no trees more than 20 feet tall. The continuance of fire protection in the area indicates a rapid gain by the forest in the future. The horizontal visibility, where the land is flat, is often limited by the trees to six or eight hundred feet.

The river bottoms or swamps contain a dense hardwood growth consisting of the bay tree (Magnolia glauca), narrow-leafed oaks (Quereus nigra, Q. laurifolia, Q. Phellos), and others. These lands are low, flat, subject to flooding and standing water, and usually difficult to reach. Their vegetation is sharply marked off from that of the pine hills and covers about a tenth of the total area. Much of the bottom forest is also second growth and small.

Economy

The economic habits of the Cajans are drawn from those of their poor neighbors, white and black, of the adjacent pine hills; like other poor people of the southern lowlands, they accept the cash income that is available for their work

Fig. 2. General view of forest. Successive ridge crests appear near horizon.

Fig. 3. Oaks and pines in returning forest. Sandy road is typical of the area.

Fig. 4. Slim trees "faced" for turpentine.

and get along with it as best they can.

These dwellers of the pine hills depend primarily on the forest industries to provide them with their major income; for the most part this income is received in the form of wages or other cash return for labor. A variety of types of work is required to harvest the variety of products yielded by these forests. The cultivation of these forests creates a large employment opportunity at wage standards prevailing in the South; it may support a rural population density surprisingly large for dependence on the forest, especially where the soils are so poor for other purposes (6). The Cajan land, however, is far from being reforested to that point, and it cannot now nearly support its population. Complete reforestation and operation on a basis of continuous yield would sustain the Cajans within their own region, since such land can support up to five families to the square mile.

The state of the pine forest depends on recent cutting as well as fire protection. This area was logged late in the last century by an English company, and the forest was nearly reduced to wasteland by the time of the First World War. Since that time frequent fires, many deliberately set (p. 65) have kept most of the land in open pasture. Fire protection campaigns and watch-towers through the area have become effective

(6) E.g., see R.R.Reynolds, "Timber - A Modern Crop", U.S.D.A., Science in Farming, Yearbook of Agriculture, 1943-7 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), 461-4.

in the last fifteen years, and the forest is returning rapidly in the better spots; in sandier places recovery is slow, and occasional scrub oaks have not been replaced by the pine. Slash pine, the fastest grower and quickest producer of turpentine, is preferred. The contrast between this area and the open unprotected country elsewhere is amazing (p. *113*).

The labor in the forest takes these forms:

Heavy lumbering operations to remove the larger trees. Within the region considered, this work is mostly in the swamps and involves their hardwoods.

Thinning the stands in the well-managed plots. This operation provides more growing room for the surviving trees and yields a harvest of slimmer logs for pulpwood and fence posts. The pulpwood is cut into five-foot lengths and stacked in five-foot cords along the rail sidings; one of the swamp woods is similarly handled, but pines provide most of the pulpwood. Larger trees may also be cut for rail ties or telephone poles. These products may likewise be obtained from the poorer stands cut without regard to the thinning benefits.

Turpentining. This hard work requires the removal of the bark of a pine to form a "face;" the upper edge of the face is cut off square where the bark overhangs to provide a smooth surface from which the sap can exude. A small pan to catch the drip is located on the face below. Each dripping surface must be renewed every two weeks during the warm season; a knife specially mounted on a handle helps to remove about half an inch of bark. The tapper must also collect the sap in the pans when they are full; they are emptied into larger containers which can be hauled to barrels located on the roads. A tapper usually handles between 6000 and 10000 trees not quite large enough for timber (Fig. 4).

Hauling logs and other products to the sawmill.

Operating sawmills and turpentine stills.

Few of these jobs are filled by direct employees. Landowners usually contract with the laborers to perform the work

of cutting the timber, or the laborer pays the owner a fixed rate for the stumpage, selling the cut timber at the market price. Turpentining is usually done on "halves", the landowner and the laborer splitting the sale price. Most of the truck-drivers have their own equipment, usually a makeshift type of pole truck for hauling the long logs (Fig. 5); the drivers sometimes buy the logs at the point of cutting and sell to the sawmill. Ox teams are in demand for work in the swamps, and the driver usually furnishes his own team (Fig. 6). The pay for labor is low, usually $4-5 per day in 1947, and it is doubtful if ownership of a piece of equipment such as a truck, with its heavy maintenance costs, improves the owner's income greatly. The work of turpentining gives better return while the season lasts. Many of the drivers haul their loads 30 miles or more to Mobile; only one or two trips can be made in a day under such circumstances. These activities are all in progress in the Cajan land, but, to find employment, many Cajans have to go outside the area, wherever the lumbering activity is in progress; some of the truck drivers stay at the lumber camps during the week and come home only on week-ends.

A few of the Cajans are well-to-do in the sense of ownership of large tracts of land, sawmills, or turpentine stills. (The still separates the volatile turpentine from the melted rosin; both are run into drums or barrels for

Fig. 5. Cajan house beside road. Trucks are used for hauling logs, which can be chained to bed skeleton.

Fig. 6. Ox team pulling logs.

shipment.) These entrepreneurs employ other Cajans to operate their equipment, but more of the Cajans derive their employment from land owned by outsiders. At least two sawmills and a turpentine still are owned by Cajans; one of these sawmills has to draw its logs from outside the Cajan area. The sawmills are petroleum-powered, but 20 years ago smaller units were located near the streams to take advantage of the water power (7).

Employment in non-forest activities is almost unknown to the Cajans who live in this home area; few opportunities are open, of course. It has been noted that they seldom enter domestic service as the negroes have done in similar circumstances. Additional income is said to be obtained from distilling of alcoholic liquors at various times. Hideouts for this illegal activity are available in the swamp areas; even the grain which goes into the mash is often purchased rather than produced by the Cajans. The bootlegger is said to have enjoyed advanced status in the community (8).

Small stores are operated by a dozen or more of the Cajans; all handle durable groceries, and several have gasoline pumps. These are located along the roads where

(7) Laura Frances Murphy, The Cajans of Mobile County, Alabama, M.A. thesis, Scarritt College, 1935, 15.
(8) Murphy, op. cit., 24.

they are reached by salesmen and delivery trucks. They receive most of the small trade of the Cajans, but the Saturday visits to town probably account for a greater volume of purchases.

Agricultural activity is subordinate to the forest industries of the Cajans. Its most important phase is the transitional activity of grazing cattle in the openings of the returning forest. Cattle grazing was the chief industry associated with the settlement of the southern pine lands, which were considered inferior sources of feed for hogs (9). The removal of the forests probably augmented the carrying capacity of this land, and maintenance of the grazing has been a dominant factor in the regular burning of this land in the early spring. Not only is the re-growth of the forest prevented by this measure, but the dead grass is removed to make the new growth of the spring available for the animals; if only the land near home is burned, the cows will not be so likely to wander at large; a clearing around the house is protection against rattlesnakes, and the fire also helps to control the ticks which get on the animals. It is estimated that the annual area burned in Washington County has been reduced from 60% to 2% in the last 15 years, and the result of this action must eventually be the replacement of much of the grazing area with the more valuable forests.

(9) Lewis C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860 (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933) I, 139.

The cattle, of poor mixed stock, are left free to graze on the open range. This practice is contrary to law in Mobile County, though it is permitted in Washington County. In the absence of complaints, however, the law is not enforced. Most of the Cajan families keep cattle in this manner, occasionally making the effort to round up the herd, often losing members by accident or theft (Fig. 7). Some are kept for draft and require supplementary feed. Many of the families obtain some milk. The other cattle are eventually sold or slaughtered for their meat and hides. Some of the families have small sheds for the animals, but these are exceptional. Hogs are also kept on the open range; these animals are particularly detrimental to reforestation, since they root up the young pine trees, especially the long-leaf type (10); the law specifies that they be restrained (11).

Many of the Cajans have small gardens, but the cultivated land (as estimated from air photographs) amounts to less than two per cent of the area. Figures in the hands of officials of the Agriculture Adjustment Administration in Washington County showed that 87 Cajan farms averaged 10.8 acres of land cropped at least one year in three in comparison with an average of 29.1 acres for the entire county, which has some much better land in its northern end. It is certainly the unusual family that possesses more than a small garden; I saw only a

(10) Harper, op. cit., 29.
(11) Ibid., 30.

Fig. 7. Cajan cattle grazing on unforested, unfenced land.

Fig. 8. Typical lone setting of Cajan house.

handful of farms that had 10 acres in crops; the figure is difficult to accept as typical.

The principal crops produced are corn, sugar cane (for syrup), and sweet potatoes. Bond (12) reported cotton in 1931, but it was not evident in 1947. It is doubtful if any farm observed could provide more than bare support for the family, and certainly very few could begin to feed a family. Cultivation of this poor land is not encouraged; the loose sandy soils require frequent fertilization and do not yield good return for the fertilizer they receive. The complaint during the summer of 1947 that fertilizer was not on the market may account for the complete neglect of agriculture by many families; it has also been reported that some gave it up when other jobs became plentiful early in the 1940's. Many Cajan houses, however, lack a trace of field or fence, and the latter is a requirement for the simplest garden in a place where cattle are at large.

During the 1930's the Cajans received some income from relief; their friends complain that they were not given the preference enjoyed by others; their detractors complain that many received relief from conditions which were normal for them and that they have been spoiled as sources of labor.

It is usually said that the Cajans are not thrifty and will spend their money as soon as they get it and usually for something of no lasting value. They like to collect in the towns on Saturday, making full use of the social occasion.

(12) Horace Mann Bond, "Two Racial Islands in Alabama," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVI (Jan., 1931), 565.

The ownership of a saddle horse has been a recent fad, carrying some prestige with it, though achieved at the expense of more basic needs.

The consumption of goods by the Cajans depends primarily on their purchasing power derived from employment in forest industries, and the level of living is uniformly low. The food consumption is characteristic of poor people in the South with great use of corn meal and flour preparations, supplemented by beans, sweet potatoes, pork, beef, milk, and garden vegetables during the season. Coffee is a standard beverage consumed in considerable quantity. Means of refrigeration for preserving food are generally not available. Clothing is probably the purchase of second importance though some of it is obtained at nominal cost through charitable sources; the Methodist mission dispenses quantities of women's and children's clothing and probably forms the chief source of clothing for many of the people in the adjacent Cajan communities. Examination of houses and furnishings indicates that little can be spent on other manufactured goods by most of the Cajans.

Houses and Furnishings

The houses of the Cajans are predominantly one- or two-room board shacks. Better houses make up a very small fraction of the total. Log cabins were reported earlier, and an occasional one is still to be found; a few of the present houses are log cabins ceiled over on the inside or out with

horizontal boards. Recently some of the houses have been covered with a composition siding resembling brick, which is insulating and wind-tight as well as neater than unpainted wood. Many have no glass windows, but only wooden shutters with which the openings can be closed against the weather or locked against intruders; the shutters and doors usually fit well even though they may not be perfectly square. When the occupants are out, the solid board façade appears; in the summer, when someone is at home, shutters and doors are open, and the house appears more like an open shed. Most of the houses include a covered porch which, in rare cases, may be screened in. The slope of the roof normally faces the road with the gables on the sides.

The houses are nearly all accessible to automobiles at the present time, being located near the country roads between the trade centers. In some cases the homestead consists of nothing but the house set in the scrubby forest with a relatively bare area of sandy land around it, the result of trampling, playing of children, burning, and clearing. More of the older houses have small yards surrounded by crude fences with a few flowers growing in the enclosure. More elaborate homesteads have fences suitable for enclosing livestock with a simple shed or barn in the yard (Fig. 8).

Most of the furniture is home-made. Beds and stoves are usually factory-made, but not of recent date. The stovepipe is the usual vent for the fire, while the chimney is rare.

Chimneys are made of wood and mud or built of the flat rocks from the thin iron-cemented bands in the Coastal Plain sediments.

Water is obtained from springs and open wells; a newer device is a pump whose pointed pipe can be driven into the loose sands; the last is considered best because of the ease of pollution of the open sources of water. Electricity had not entered the area in 1947, but the Alabama Power Company had scheduled a line into it for the following winter and had contracted with most of the residents for service.

Table 5 lists the facilities found by a local investigator in twelve representative Cajan homes.

Land Ownership

Some of the Cajans own the property on which their houses are built. More, either as squatters or by permission of the owners, have built their houses on land owned in large tracts by outsiders, sometimes with an understanding about working in the forests or assisting in fire protection.

Most of the land owned by Cajans is in the hands of a few large holders. The following estimates were made from land maps in the county offices and a knowledge of the Cajan names:

	Land owned by Cajans (sq.mi.)	Land owned by probable or borderline Cajans	
Mobile County	32	--	
Washington County	27	29	(14)

(14) Data on Mobile County from 1937 map in County Tax Assessor's Office, County Courthouse, Mobile; data on Washington County from 1940 map in County Tax Assessor's Office, Chatom.

Table 5

Facilities Found in a Sample of Twelve Cajan Homes

Facility	Number of Households
Number of rooms	
One	8
Two	4
Lighting	
Kerosene	5
Lighter-knot*	7
Cooking	
Stove	10
Fireplace	2
Beds	
Home-made	7
Manufactured	5
Chairs	
Boxes	3
Home-made	5
Manufactured	4
Toilets	
None	11
Open	1
Timepieces	
None	7
Watches	3
Clocks	2
Newspapers	
None	11
Weekly	1
Radios	
None	11
Battery	1
Telephones	
None	12
Phonographs	
None	11
Mechanical	1

(13)

*Oil-rich pine sticks from stump.

(13) Clatis Green, Some Factors Influencing Cajan Education in Washington County, Alabama, M.A. thesis, University of Alabama, College of Education, 1941.

Some of this land is outside the area enclosed as Cajan land on Map 1. Not more than 35% of any township lying within that area belongs to Cajans and borderline Cajans.

Of the land owned by Cajans and borderline Cajans in Washington County, 57% was owned by five persons; the ownership in Mobile County was even more concentrated. The distribution of ownership by Cajans and borderline Cajans in Washington County is given below:

Size of holding	Number of holdings
40 acres or less	29
41-80 acres	16
81-160 acres	11
161-320 acres	12
321-640 acres	5
641-1280 acres	5
1281-2560 acres	2
2561-5120 acres	2
5121-10240 acres	2

Among the smaller holdings were those belonging to 19 members of the Reed family; their holdings ran from 20 to 300 acres, the median occurring between 40 and 80 acres. Very few of all the holdings were less than 20 acres.

Roads and Accessibility

Roads through the Cajan country are numerous and reach nearly all the houses at the present time; in causal terms the houses have probably moved to the roads. These roads are all built and maintained by public agencies; hence they reflect no special enterprise on the part of the Cajans. Most of the roads have not existed more than 15 or 20 years;

historically the Cajans have lived on foot-trails in very inaccessible places.

One paved road goes through the heart of the area, running east and west between the towns of Citronelle and Mount Vernon in Mobile County; the roadside is dotted with Cajan homes and stores, 29 having been counted in a distance of 11 miles; small communities lie off the main road. Two other paved roads, U.S. highways 43 and 45, run north-south on the east and west edges of the area. Few Cajans live near these highways though nearly all live between them. The county roads are cleared and graded ways through the forest; wooden bridges are built across the streams, and some road material is added where needed. In most of the region the road surfaces quickly break up into loose sand, which may become too deep unless prevented by occasional grading. The addition of a certain amount of clay helps to stabilize the sand and to improve the traction of the surface, but this operation has been carried out only at the worst places. The sand is at its worst when dry, but such roads are not difficult to keep passable in all weather conditions. Branch roads to individual houses usually present no construction problem. A network of truck trails built through unsettled parts of the forest in New Deal relief days forms a third group of roads; these are of great assistance in providing access to lumbering operations, but are not maintained in condition

for passage of light vehicles. A characteristic of these truck trails results from the selection of successive by-pass routes around the sandiest spots; the in-and-out weavings of such stretches of road show up on aerial photographs in a pattern not unlike that of a braided stream. Most of the swamp as well as the upland timber is now accessible to truck hauling because of the existence of these roads.

A railroad, the Alabama, Tennessee, and Northern, cuts through the Cajan country and provides some nucleus for settlement and an outlet for some of the timber products. It seems to be of no particular importance for the Cajans, however.

Education and Schools

Though no legal provision exists for separate Cajan schools, the fact is that Mobile and Washington Counties have, for the time, met their race problem by the establishment of a third school system in addition to the white and negro. Officially most of the Cajan schools are listed as "special" under the white classification. Actually the school officers, in taking the census, list under the special school districts the families whom they know from local tradition to be Cajan. These people are not admitted to the white schools even though they may live in or move to a place normally beyond the limits served by the Cajan school.

Separate schools have been provided within the last 20 years. Since the Cajan was excluded from the white schools

and unwilling to attend the negro schools, his education was usually completely neglected prior to that time. Three Cajan schools in Mobile County were consolidated in 1946 into a two-teacher school housed in a new building of hollow brick near the Methodist Chapel, and buses were provided for the transportation of the 91 students attending the school. This plan worked fairly well for the first year except for some reluctance on the part of one of the Cajan communities to send its children to a school with certain other Cajans considered to be inferior by virtue of negro blood. Washington County maintains four special schools and one white school for Cajans with approximate numbers of children as shown below:

Pleasant View	72
Reed's Chapel	96
Hill Spring	24
Weaver or Magnolia	18
Charity Chapel (white)	48

(15)

In Mobile County a parochial school with 23 pupils (in 1946) is maintained by the Catholic Church. A few of the teachers employed by these schools come from the Cajan group, but the majority are white. The Methodist Church provides some of the teachers in the Calcedeaver (Calvert-Cedar Creek-Weaver) school in Mobile County.

The establishment of Cajan schools has undoubtedly been partly in response to encouragement by the Methodist and Baptist missionaries. The issue of separate schools has come up in numerous court cases, usually where Cajan children or their

(15) Estimated from 1946 school census of Washington County.

representatives have sued for admission to white schools. A great deal of feeling has been aroused over these cases, and no general decision has ever been reached, the tri-racial school system now in effect representing a temporary compromise in the areas of Cajan concentration. The disputed legal point has usually concerned the presence of negro blood; under Alabama law, a single drop of negro blood is deemed to make one a negro. In some cases the school boards have been sustained in their exclusion policies by proving just such a degree of mixture (16); in others the proof has been lacking, and in still others the judge has set the law aside where the negro blood seemed extremely dilute. In another significant case the judge evaded the real question by failing to find a clear legal issue, and the expense of starting the process again was presumably enough to stop the matter there (17). An investigation by the Mobile County School Board in 1931 indicated that there were many Cajan and other mixed children attending the Mobile city white schools (estimated at two per cent of all the children). The investigator hired to obtain the evidence necessary for the expulsion of these children compiled extensive genealogical data on the Cajans; on this basis the Board took action. The present indication is that the courts

(16) Green, op.cit., 32-42, quoting decision in case of Barbara Young et al. vs. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County, Alabama, et als., Circuit Court of Mobile Co., Ala. No. 17339.
(17) Green, op.cit., 42-48, referring to Dorothy Taylor and Hattie Jewel Taylor vs. Washington County Board of Education et als., Circuit Court of Washington County.

will not uphold such action; since most of the cases never reach court, however, the racial segregation program has not been seriously crippled.

In the city of Mobile and in other places in southern Alabama not served by Cajan schools, the Cajans who cannot pass in the white schools must attend negro schools if they attend the public schools at all. Furthermore, the Cajans have no simple way of obtaining high school education, for their own schools are limited to the grades. Some of the lighter ones attend high school at Citronelle where they are tolerated as long as their appearance is not negroid and their numbers very small; the same condition once existed at Chatom in Washington County, but few have gone there since a bitter campaign about 1932 to exclude them. The high school at Leroy now receives some of the Cajans, apparently without any local objection. Most of the Cajans, then, under the customs of the region, are excluded from public high schools. The church missions in the area have obtained the money from their supporting groups to send some of their more promising children to schools in Texas and Louisiana; but the problem of advanced education for most of the Cajans has not been solved and probably awaits greater demand on their part.

Social Relations with Other Peoples

Since the Cajans are both descended from other peoples and segregated from them, their relations with other peoples

must be important in their present distinct existence.

The Cajans are considered by the whites to have negro blood and therefore to be on an unacceptable social plane. Some are unwilling to consider the Cajans as anything but negroes; most grant them the intermediate status which they, in effect, have. They are also considered ignorant, indolent, and generally inferior. This judgment by the economically and socially dominant group serves, of course, to put them in a disadvantageous position in several respects; and since this judgement is one-sided, it is resented and fought by the Cajans in their turn. In a society already distinctly bi-racial, the Cajans would be relegated to the large out-group, as recognizably mixed persons elsewhere have been, were it not for the fact that they have not permitted this to happen.

As previously mentioned on the subject of schools, there is a Cajan fringe showing little negroid trait or coloring, which, if not too numerous, can sometimes "pass" without serious opposition on the border of white society. In business dealings and other relations the line will not be drawn unless something occurs to renew the conflict. Generally, however, the white view in this region cannot accept the Cajan as other than a member of a distinct society. Very occasionally a white man may work for a Cajan employer.

The problem for the intermediate group in this tri-racial society is more difficult. On the one hand the Cajan resents the bar imposed by the whites, feels that it is unjust, and

strives for equality in every way; to this end he tries to exert a continual pressure without arousing antagonism which would increase the back-pressure; in every contact outside his own family and people he is normally to be treated as either black or white; whether he goes to the restaurant, the doctor's office, or the bus station, he must be one or the other; at stores and other places the question may be less definite; any Cajan who thinks he can will assume the white prerogatives; if he succeeds, he will continue to do so; if he is rebuffed, he will await a more favorable opportunity.

On the other hand, the Cajan, instead of opposing the social barrier, is actually assiduous in erecting and maintaining it in order to put his class above the negro's. This seemingly inconsistent position comes from the recognition and acceptance of the segregation principle imposed by the dominant group; the Cajan's reaction is to admit the segregation principle, but to try to identify himself with the dominant group. It is undoubtedly selection growing out of competition between two opposing forces which has maintained the Cajans as an in-between group. It should not be thought, however, that the relation of white to Cajan is the same as that of Cajan to negro. Though it is undoubtedly true that the initiative in separating Cajan from negro has come from the former, the Cajans might better be pictured as a second out-group than as an in-between group. The negro is not dependent on the Cajan economy in the way that both Cajan and negro depend on the

white. The Cajan's position is not clearly better than the negro's, and the local negro, without the least damage to any of his own interests, is as free to look down on the Cajan as is the Cajan to shun the negro. Actually the two groups have little to do with one another. These mutual attitudes, though effective, are static rather than active. The Cajans live almost entirely away from the towns and villages; very few negro families live near the Cajan areas; negroes are more dependent on the town economy and their residences, if not in the towns, are usually near-by. The Cajans are usually found beyond the limits of any negro settlement. Undoubtedly some competition for work exists between negroes and Cajans; but the Cajans have not entered some of the fields normally handled with negro labor.

Many white people consider the Cajans to be less industrious and poorer in intellect than negroes. Many prefer negroes as employees, though this fact may involve more than a mere judgement of the individuals' native abilities and application.

The Cajans are economically dependent on white society. Their retail and wholesale trading is ultimately with white merchants; the products of their labor ultimately go to white enterprises. In many cases they are employed directly by white people. The public services enjoyed by the Cajans are provided by governments controlled by white people. Much of the social life of the Cajan communities is organized around the missions maintained by white church groups.

Some of the Cajans are openly resentful or indifferent toward outsiders. Strangers in the area are likely to obtain little satisfaction from making inquiries, especially if the term "Cajan" should be expressed. Some of these people are undoubtedly afraid of or distrustful of outsiders. It is reported that only a few years ago they would run and hide if strangers approached.

The Cajans are said to have held for a time the balance of votes in Washington County elections. Their own leaders made some use of this power to obtain minor concessions, but the nature of their segregation never offered them any major influence.

Most of the Cajans went into the army as white; this arrangement was made by local officials, but they were normally assigned to units composed of people from other regions. A few of those who returned abandoned the area in favor of greater opportunity elsewhere, but the great majority clung to what had always been home.

Beneath the surface, social relations may be a little different. Marriage between Cajans and whites is not unknown, but it is the end of any social standing for the white parties. Cajan girls, however, are encouraged by their parents to try to marry white men; they realize, of course, the advantage in doing so, especially if they can marry someone from outside the region. With such likelihood of welcome, it is probably not uncommon for white men who have no intention of marriage

to visit the sometimes attractive Cajan girls. Even if children and no marriages result from these relations, the consequent whitening of the strain is often welcome or at least accepted. The investigator for the school board who tried to run back ancestry frequently ran into these fatherless "woods colts." If the Cajan girl is offered a reward for marrying white, she may be threatened with disinheritance if she marries a negro. Persons familiar with the Cajans over a period of years were able to recall only one or two cases of Cajan-negro marriages. There is no question that the Cajans have been very careful to maintain this barrier and that, because of their intense interest in social status, it has actually been stronger than their separation from the whites.

Social Relations within the Cajan Group

Though the Cajans may have in common mixed blood, ancestry, localization, a sense of mistreatment by the whites, and a sense of superiority to the negro, they are not drawn together as a unified group. Indeed their whole society seems to have an internal tendency to fly apart, held together only by pressure from outside and the control of competition. The bugaboo of negro blood is so strong that each family shuns those of more obvious negro admixture or even tries to make itself appear white by calling its neighbors (and probably

cousins) black.* In other words,not only have the Cajans imitated the source of their own sorrow in drawing the line against the negro, but within the Cajan group numerous lines have been drawn in the same manner. Evidences of these distinctions are numerous: the wife of a missionary who had recently come to the area planned a party for Cajan women of two adjoining communities, but was promptly told by members of one group that they did not associate with the other; the residents of the Cedar Creek area in Mobile County have not supported the consolidated school; the Mobile County groups (who have supported this school) are said to avoid any association with the descendants of Rose and Daniel Reed because the latter are known to have negro blood (18) (perhaps the legal aspect of provable negro blood as evidenced in the school cases is the real reason behind this condition); yet the two groups have intermarried frequently in the past. As elsewhere in the negro society of this country, the cliques of lighter color have the upper hand; they include the operators of the local industries, some of whom no longer admit relationship to their Cajan neighbors; generally the lighter Cajans have collected in the crossroads hamlets, leaving the

*A discussion of some of the personal contradictions facing the individual in a group of this kind is given by Guy B. Johnson in "Personality in a White-Negro-Indian Community." American Sociological Review IV (Aug.,1939), 519-20.

(18)Murphy, op.cit.,49.

darker ones scattered about the woods; children of darker Cajan families are not admitted to the school that is classed as white, and in one or two cases are thereby effectively excluded from any school. Within these Cajan communities there is undoubtedly a greater feeling of solidarity than any affecting the group as a whole.

The struggle toward racial status controls much of the social life of the Cajan community. The term Cajan is not accepted, but some call themselves Indians if they think the white peak is out of reach. A doctor who fills out many of the birth certificates for them described the attempts of the Cajans to have him class them as white or Indian; where possible he usually leaned toward their desires.

Most of the Cajans live outside the villages and at least a few hundred feet from their closest neighbors. Under these conditions social contacts are cut down. Among Cajans who will accept one another, the internal social life is probably quite normal for people on this economic level. Carmer (19) describes an impromptu Cajan party. The old-fashioned square dance is said to be very popular (20).

Cajan employers and employees are said to prefer one another.

Marriage is seldom a carefully planned ceremony with the Cajans. Betrothals are said to be made on the spur of the moment and the marriages to follow immediately, usually by

(19) Op.cit., 265.
(20) Green, op.cit., 67.

elopement across the border to Mississippi; there fewer questions are asked about race. Usually Cajans marry Cajans but not necessarily within the same community. Boys from different communities within the area move about in their activities, and a considerable mixing is the result. The degree of in-marriage is discussed later. Desertion, divorce, and adultery are all reported to an undetermined extent.

Beyond question the social relations of the Cajans are on a cruder basis than those accepted in white society. The Washington County sheriff's office is reported to answer many calls in the Cajan end of the county, especially on Saturday night; brawls and fights of serious consequence are reported.

Population

The Cajan population is not recorded separately by the census. The classification of the Cajan as white, negro, or Indian is a matter between him and the census-taker. Most of them get by as white in these tabulations.

The most accurate method of estimating the population involves use of the school census. These lists are made by local school officials who should be able to cover the territory without omission of families and who are acceptable arbiters (for the present purposes) in separating Cajans from others. The most recent school census available undertook to obtain the names of children between the ages of two and twenty-one along with the names of the parents. Older children

of this bracket are not included if not living with their parents; hence the completeness of the data drops off rapidly beyond the age of 15 because of the high frequency of early marriage.

From the number of children of each age, it is possible to construct the lower part of a population pyramid (Fig.9). The crude pyramid shows the normal tendency to narrow upward, an effect which has two causes in a closed population: population increase and mortality. From the data it is not unreasonable to assume that the War had little of the effect on this group that it had on the population as a whole. With a steady rate of population increase and a mortality rate that does not vary with time or age, the number of persons, N_r, in age group r is related to the age by an expression of the type

$$N_r = N_0 e^{-ar} ,$$

where N_0 is the theoretical number of infants under one year of age. Fitting this curve to the data for children two to 15, we get values of N_0 and a which give

$$N_r = 66.15\ e^{-.0355r} .$$

The corrected population for all Cajans under 21 years of age is 997. If this rate of decrease of population with age is continued upward indefinitely, the total population approximates 1900; such an assumption is hardly justified, however. The data on the school children provide no direct method of estimating the total population, but they may be compared with data for some similar group. The 1940 census data from three

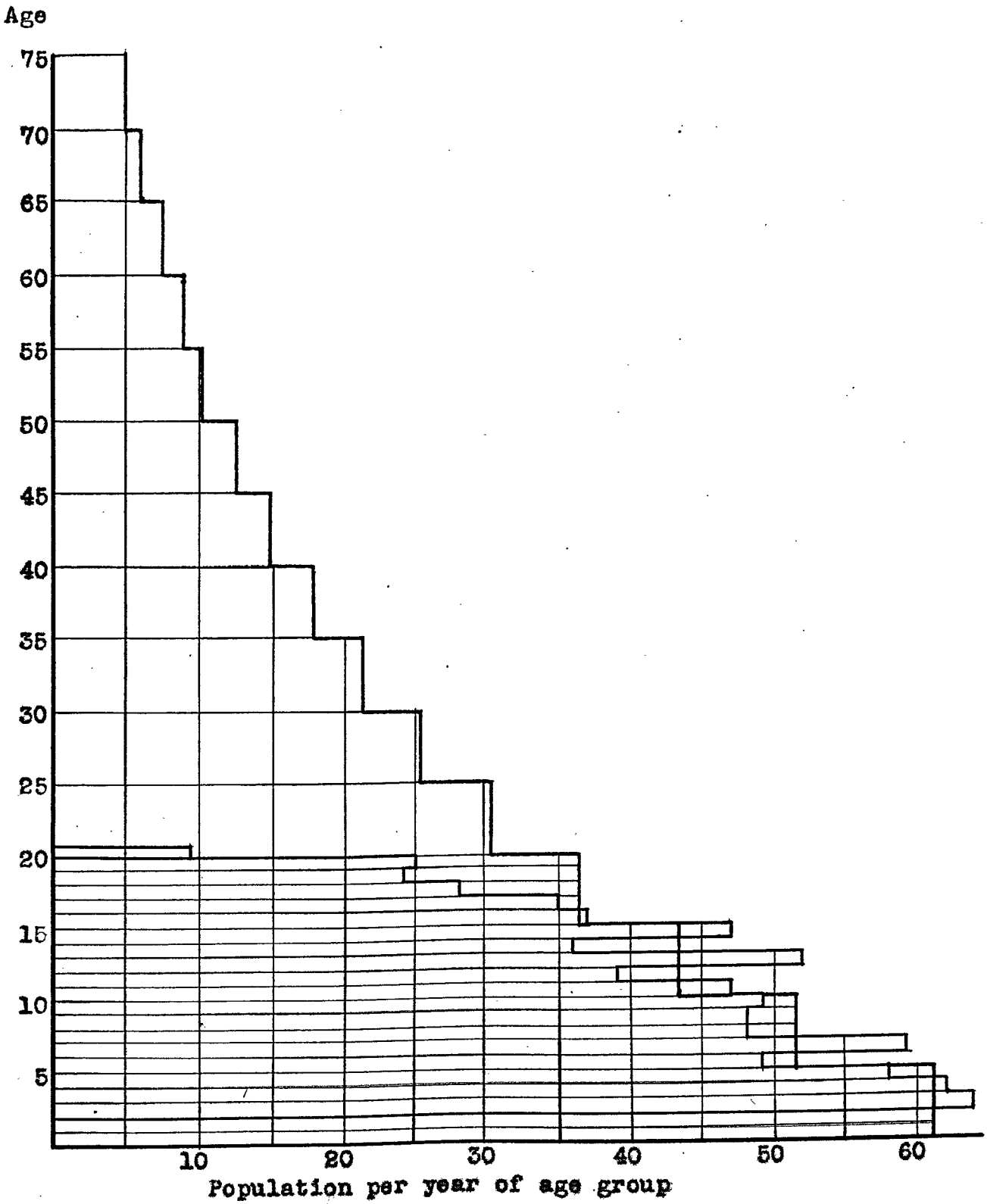


Fig. 9. Cajan Population Pyramid (21). Black line shows data of school census. Red line shows population computed by formula on page 85.

(21) 1946 school census data filed in Washington County courthouse, Chatom, and Mobile County school headquarters, Mobile.

Washington County precincts (Tibbie, Deer Park, and Sims Chapel, rural areas containing a large part of the Cajan population) show a total of 2172 persons, of whom 1071 were 21 or more years of age (22). This figure of 49.4% of the population over 21 compares with the Alabama average for the census of 55.1% while the rural farm population averaged 49.1% (23). If it applies to the Cajan population, then the total population must be 1928 persons, not including borderline Cajans or the considerable number of Cajans not in the school districts. The figure is too large if older children have been migrating from the area, but such is not believed to be the case in significant quantity. As an estimate of the Cajan population it is a minimum, including essentially the core of undisputed Cajans living in their own area; with the borderline Cajans and those who have moved to other near-by places and to Mobile, where they are reported in some number, it would not be dangerous to double the figure.

The data show 3.26 to be the average number of children listed in the school census per family listed in the school census. For all these families containing more than one child, the average spacing between children is 2.95 years. It is impossible to deduce from these data the average number of children born to a married couple in the course of its

(22) Sixteenth Census of the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), Population, II, part 1, 310.
(23) Ibid., 210, 212.

child-bearing period, but the following break-down of the data is indicative:

> 43 families reporting children both over 16 and under 6 (therefore likely having or to have unreported children both older and younger) average 5.25 children on the census reports.
>
> 120 families reporting children under 6 but none over 16 (therefore likely having or to have younger unreported children) average 3.10 children on the census reports.
>
> 46 families reporting children over 16 but none under 6 (therefore likely having older children unreported) average 3.06 children on the census reports.
>
> 44 families reporting no children over 16 or under 6 (therefore likely complete) average 1.82 children on the census reports.

From these figures it seems that an average of five surviving children as the normal size of family is not too high an estimate for the Cajan population having children at all. The reproductive rate may then be considered as very high.

If the Cajan area is estimated at 175 square miles, the density of population may be figured at 1928/175 or 11.0 persons per square mile; if we include in the population density the non-Cajan part of that population, the figure becomes about 14 persons per square mile. The land of the region in its present condition is probably not adequate to support this population, especially since outside ownership is common; in a reforested state with sustained yield operation there should be no difficulty in supporting the Cajans at a higher level than they now enjoy.

The degree of in-marriage (i.e., within the Cajan group) is believed to be high though no data are available. A second question of interest is the degree of inbreeding (i.e., marriage between relatives); in a population dominated by only a few family names*, it might be expected to be very high, and most people of the region believe it to be very high, stating often that it is difficult for a Cajan to find another who is not a relative. Again the data are not available for an exact answer. Some information can be obtained from the genealogical information gathered for the Mobile School Board (24). The writer took at random the last marriage available under the head of each of the leading family names; Table 6 summarizes the evidence of relationship between the parties of each marriage thus established. The data of ancestry are not complete; hence Table 6 can be said to indicate only a minimum relationship. Table 7 gives two actual records which show complexities of relationship which may sometimes occur in a population of this sort.

The trends of the population cannot be precisely described at the present time. Our information depends on the school census data and the observations of the Cajans'

*The paucity of names may be preserved by in-marriage or by patrilocal exogamy in which the wives leave the group; it is doubted that the latter has played the major part.

(24) Lineage book of mixed-blood families (typewritten ms.), prepared by A.D.Price, Mobile, Alabama, about 1931.

Table 6

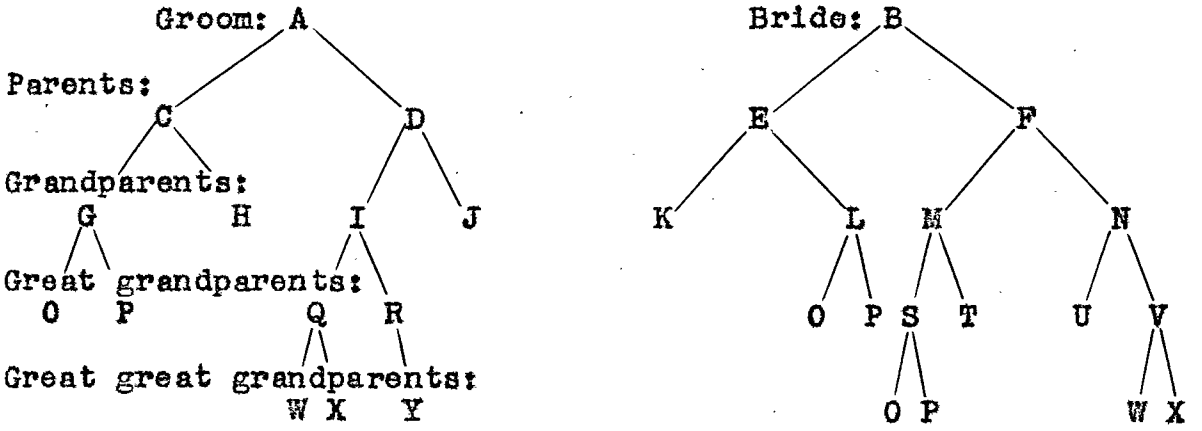
Evidence of Inbreeding in the Cajan Population: Analysis of Parties to 14 Recent Marriages

	Groom's Ancestry	Bride's Ancestry	Bride-Groom Relationship
1.	Mother and paternal grandmother had same maiden name.	-	-
2.	-	-	-
3.	-	Paternal grandfather and maternal grandmother had same last name.	One set of great grandparents in common.
4.	Maternal grandfather had same name as his wife's mother.	-	One set of great great grandparents in common; maternal grandmothers had same maiden names.
5.	Paternal grandparents had same surname.	-	-
6.	-	-	-
7.	-	-	First cousins.
8.	-	-	-
9.	-	Paternal grandparents had same surname.	One set of great grandparents in common.
10.	-	-	-
11.	-	Maternal grandmother and her mother-in-law had same maiden names.	-
12.	-	Parents had same surname.	-
13.	-	Father and maternal grandmother had same surname.	One great grandfather (and great grandmother?) in common.
14.	-	-	-

Table 7

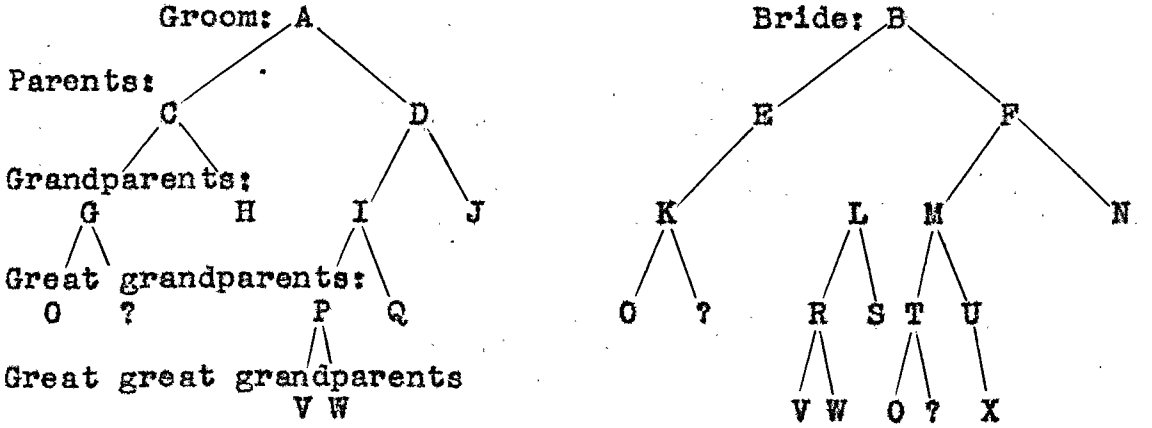
Inbreeding in the Cajan Population

First Example



Here the couple OP performs the functions of great grandparents of the groom and great grandparents and great great grandparents of the bride while the couple WX are great great grandparents of both. In terms of blood proportions the groom is 1/4 OP and 1/8 WX while the bride is 3/8 OP and 1/8 WX. In addition H and K had the same surname.

Second Example



With the duplication of O and his wife (wives?) and of the couple VW, the relationships here are very similar to those in the previous example; also O and X had the same surname.

neighbors. Population changes, whether in quantity or quality occur in two ways: (1) by natural reproduction and (2) migration. The size of the families and the school census data indicate clear gains by (1). More people are probably lost than gained by (2); but the evidence shows that natural reproduction must more than compensate for this loss. The continued construction of houses by the Cajans is taken as evidence that the population is still increasing. It has increased rapidly in the past (pp. 97-101), and this trend has probably not been reversed.

The fact that family types can be recognized (p. 56) indicates that a thorough mixing of the population has not taken place and may reflect the result of some family inbreeding.

It has already been pointed out that selection in outmarriage is tending to make the group whiter. It is the writer's belief that selection in emigration is probably counteracting this tendency (p. 48). The opportunity for improvement of social status by moving away is open to the whiter members of the group. The net result of reproduction and migration is probably causing little change in the color of the Cajan population at the present time, but seems to be increasing its number.

Cajan Names

The surnames of the Cajans are useful to the student in

identifying Cajan people, in tracing the family growth, and, generally considered, in the light they throw on Cajan background. The leading Cajan surnames are: Byrd, Chestang, Davis, Hopkins, Johnston, Orso, Reed, Rivers, Sullivan, Taylor, and Weaver.

It is first of interest to note that nearly all the names are Anglo-Saxon. This is in contrast to the Creole groups of southwestern Alabama in the city of Mobile and in Mobile and Baldwin Counties, whose names are French, perhaps with Anglicized spelling (e.g., Andry instead of André). Chestang is the only important surname among the Cajan group which is probably of French origin. Chestang is also a common Creole name and derives from important landholders of the colonial period. Jerome ("Pic") Chestang, who first bore this name among the Cajan groups, is listed as a woods colt (25). In view of the preservation near-by of French names and religion in a mixed group, it seems reasonable to believe that the Cajans either are not mostly descended from French people or that this mixture and segregation has taken place in a non-Latin social environment. The break between Cajan and Creole is rather sharp.

The distribution of names among the Cajans is indicated by the frequency of families in the school census as listed in Table 8. It may be seen that a few names predominate in the population and that the families are not spatially

(25) See (24).

Table 8

Number of Families of Each Name Included in School Census

Name	School: Pleasant View	Reed's Chapel	Hill Spring	Weaver or Magnolia	Calcedeaver	Charity Chapel	St.Theresa*	Total
Byrd	1				22	1	2	24
Chestang	9			1				10
Johnston	8	1			1			10
Orso	1	5			3			9
Reed		17	9	4	1	2		33
Rivers	3	2	1		10		5	16
Sullivan	7	1			10		1	18
Taylor	1	2			7		1	10
Weaver	15	18		4	19		3	56
Other	9	9	2	2	21	23	4	66

* Parochial school; figures included in Calcedeaver census

distributed at random, but that members of a single family tend to cling together. This concentration of families by name is believed to show strong patrilocal ties within the group.

Popular recognition confirms the information on frequency of family names. Given names are not indicative, but tend to conform with usual American types. Because the surnames are not distinctive, the practice of calling a person by his given name followed by his father's given name has been used (26).

Religion

As with the population at large, the religious background of the Cajans is confined to various divisions of the Christian churches; many are regular churchgoers, and many others have only a loose connection with the church. The denominations of the Cajans are confined to Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, and the irregular activity of some of the "shouting churches". Missions supported from the outside are maintained by the first three, and much of their strength is undoubtedly owing to the outside effort; they are based, however, on earlier preference of the Cajans, which preceded the founding of the missions. The Holiness and other evangelistic churches attract many of the Cajans as they have other poor and maladjusted people, but they have no permanent church buildings and seldom a regular membership. A "bush arbor" is frequently preferred in season to the pretentiousness of a building (Fig.10); or a meeting

(26) Murphy, op.cit., 50.

may be held at some such place as a store.

The Baptist mission is longest established (fifteen years) and has the largest following, with five permanent chapels where services are held regularly. This activity has centered in the eastern part of Washington County. The Methodist mission is centered in Mobile County, where most of its membership is found, but has one subsidiary church in Washington County. The Catholic church has no full-time missionary and has a much smaller following; again most of its members are in the vicinity of the church. Field workers were maintained by some of the churches for some years before the formal establishments of the present missions with preachers at their heads.

The proportion of the Cajans adhering to the Catholic faith is approximately reflected by the attendance at St. Theresa school shown in Table 8; the Protestant religious preference of the Cajans serves to accentuate their names in distinguishing them from the Creoles as a product of Anglo-Saxon tradition. Table 8 does show that the names of the Catholic Cajans are common to the group as a whole though the Reeds are missing. The presence of the Catholic minority appears to be a matter of recent conversion.

Superstitions and Home Remedies

These ignorant people have preserved many of the "do" and "don't" superstitions common to the backwoods, in spite of the efforts of school and church. It is believed by many that one

can have an evil spell cast upon him which will cause all kinds of hard luck. This belief has given rise to ill feeling and recrimination in some instances that were reported. The following are examples of the many specific superstitious notions collected from these people:

> It is an ill omen to move into a new house while the old one stands. A baby must not be bathed until it is a year old. It is bad luck to lay a baby on a table. A lighted lamp must not be taken from a room where a baby was born until mother and baby can leave the room together(28).
>
> When someone dies the mirrors in the house are covered, and the clocks are stopped. A bereft person can bear the grief better if he touches the face of the corpse. Doors are left open in order that the spirit may escape (29).

Folk-medicine is still practiced by some Cajans with the use of a variety of herbs found locally. Doctors and county nurses have discouraged this habit with the result that it is being abandoned, but some of those restrained from the practice still believe in it. Of a number of Cajans approached on this subject, the younger ones usually claimed to know nothing of the herbs; some of the older were quite familiar with the prescriptions. A partial list of plants and their uses is given in Table 9.

Culture Traits

I asked nearly everyone interviewed if the Cajans had any culture traits peculiar to them at the present time. The answers were uniformly in the negative except for occasional

(28) Green, op.cit., 70-73. (29) Murphy, op.cit., 86.

Table 9

List of Plants Reported by Cajans as Used in Home Remedies

Common Name	Presumed Botanical Name(27)	Use
Black snake root	*Cimifuga racemosa*	Malaria or colic
Sampson snake root	*Psoralea pedunculata*	
Bittersweet	*Celastrus scandens*	
Fever grass		
Low-bush mirkle	*Myrica cerifera* var. *pumila*	"Thrash";or boil down with vaseline for cancer
Hart leaf	*Asarum virginicum*	
Yellowroot	*Hydrastis canadensis*	
Ginseng	*Panax quinquefolium*	
Peppermint	*Mentha piperita*	
Horsemint	*Monarda punctata*	
Persimmon root	*Diospyros virginiana*	
Catnip tea	*Nepeta cataria*	
Witch hazel	*Hamamelis virginiana*	
Hive weed		Stomach troubles,babies
Sheep mullet		Babies
Jimson weed	*Datura stramonium*	Sores
Prickly pear	*Opuntia* sp.	For drawing off pus
Shame briar root (saw briar)	*Schrankia uncinata*	Gravel
Kernel weed		Abscesses
Sweet bay (bark)	*Magnolia virginiana*	Fever
St. John	*Hypericum* (?)	Women in childbirth
Polypodum	*Polypodium* (?)	Colds
Mistletoe	*Phoradendron* sp.	Children
Dollar weed		Diarrhea
Goldenrod leaves	*Solidago* sp.	Typhoid
Plant thyme	*Thymus* (?)	

(27) Mostly from Charles Mohr, *Plant Life of Alabama*, (Montgomery: Brown Printing Co., 1901); many of the plants listed are also recognized in U.S.P.

suggestions of doubtful value.

Many considered the Cajans to be naturally lazy or indolent, good-for-nothing. Many claimed to be able to spot a Cajan anywhere by his general bearing which is said to reflect a feeling of inferiority; there well may be some truth in this interpretation. Many thought that the Cajan speech was distinctive, characterized by halting phrases coming out explosively between interruptions, especially when the speaker was excited or bragging about some personal achievement or ability; I noticed such an effect once, but the negro influence on the Cajan speech seemed predominant. Addiction to certain phrases is reported; the Cajans are sometimes called the "swear-to-Gods" because of the frequent use of the ejaculation.

The superstition and home pharmacy mentioned above are common to the land. Similar superstitions are to be found among negroes and other poor inhabitants of the pine belt. Personal inquiry of white farming people in near-by counties in Mississippi revealed several of the same herb uses.

One Cajan preacher has attracted some attention for the religious songs handed down in his family; these are apparently not common elsewhere in the area, but they are recognizable to anyone as negro spirituals in their tone and form.

Origin and History of the Cajans

Local tradition and records give us more specific information on the origin and history of the Cajans than is usually

available for similar groups. The data here indicate a varied origin and a persistence that must be explained in part by the accident of rapid growth.

The banks of the lower Tombigbee and Mobile Rivers, particularly on the west, formed the first nucleus of American settlement in Alabama. In 1801 a population of 500 whites and 250 blacks is reported to have been thinly scattered for a distance of 70 miles along the western bank (30). Between Spanish possession of Mobile and the territory south of 31°, Creek Indians to the east, Choctaws to the west, and Cherokees to the north, this area was isolated from the United States (and both Spanish and U.S. import duties had to be paid on goods received through Mobile) (31). St. Stephens was established on the western bank of the Tombigbee as an Indian trading post in 1802 (32), and it survived to become the territorial capital of Alabama when Mississippi became a state in 1817 (33). The Indian territory in the meantime was being penetrated by traders and settlers, and rights were secured by the government for road construction to connect this island with other American settlements; in fact a well-to-do mixed white and Indian group was on Little River

(30) A. B. Meek, Roamantic Passages of Southwestern History, (3rd edition, Mobile: S. H. Goetzel & Co.,1857), 237-8.
(31) Peter Joseph Hamilton, "Early Roads of Alabama", Transactions of Alabama Historical Society, II(1897-8),47.
(32) Albert James Pickett, History of Alabama (3rd edition, Charleston: Walker & James, 1851), II, 184.
(33) Ibid., 374.

just east of the Alabama as early as 1792 (34). In 1807 the road from the east was extended from St. Stephens to the next settlement at Natchez; this road was named from its blaze "The Three-Chopped Way" (35). McIntosh Bluff, a shipping point where the Tombigbee touches the western upland east of the present McIntosh is reported as the site of the first court (36) and a center of settlement (37), and Ft. Stoddard (at the present Mt. Vernon) was the customhouse (38); both are on the edge of Cajan settlement today. This country did not settle down to its present apparent destiny until after Indian wars and the final expulsion of the Spanish took place.

One of the most numerous of the Cajan families traces its origin back to Daniel Reed and his wife, Rose Reed, who, according to tradition, established themselves in a double-pen log cabin in the southern part of present Washington County near the present settlement of Tibbie. This house is said to have been near the old highway into Mississippi, but the straight line from St. Stephens to Natchez would go several miles north of Tibbie, and there is no evident reason for such a departure from the shortest route. There may have been a subsidiary road or other particular reason for the Reeds' settlement at this point; mention is made of a Federal Road from Milledgeville to Fort Stoddard and Natchez (39). This

(34) Ibid., 125.
(35) Hamilton, op. cit., 49.
(36) Pickett, op. cit., 196-9.
(37) Hamilton, op. cit., 51.
(38) Pickett, op. cit., 108.
(39) Peter J. Hamilton, Colonial Mobile (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910) 468.

establishment is said to have played the parts of a cattle-penning center in the days when grazing was the chief activity on the land and of an inn along the road. It is said that a special room was reserved for white people and that they ate their meals separately. Many living people have seen the remains of this old structure. Daniel Reed was also a blacksmith, as is evidenced by the fact that he willed his tools to one of his sons (40).

Daniel Reed is said to have been a man of mixed blood who came to Alabama from Jamaica or elsewhere in the West Indies. The records show that he married a slave, Rose, whose freedom he later purchased in 1818 (41). It is evident that Rose Reed was also of mixed blood, since she is described as a mulatto (rumor has it that she was actually the daughter of her original owner) (42). The expansion of the progeny of Rose and Daniel Reed has been astounding.

Their sons and daughters numbered eight, their grandchildren 56, and we know of 202 great grandchildren (43). The 42 of these great-grandchildren known to have become parents when the record was prepared had provided Rose and Daniel

(40) Green, op. cit., 12, quoting will from Washington County Deed Record B,69.
(41) Harry Toulmin, Digest of Alabama Laws, (New York; Ginn & Co., 1823), 642, as quoted by Green, op. cit., 10.
(42) Transcript of Oral Evidence and Proceedings Had at a Hearing at Request of A. F. Milne, A. W. Wilkerson, and Tom Pate before the Hon. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County, Part 2, Oct. 3, 1932, 39.
(43) Lineage book of A. D. Price.

with 137 great-great-grandchildren; seven of the latter had 19 children, and four of these had produced 15 great-great-great- great-grandchildren of the original couple. In the ensuing 18 years a new generation has undoubtedly been added, and the other recent generations have been filled out by continued births.

Living in a frontier land where women were in short supply, the three daughters of Rose and Daniel who married obtained white men for husbands. These branches of the Reed line have continued to live in the region, but have usually managed to stay on the white side of the color line. The sons of Rose and Daniel married three mulatto sisters of the Weaver family (44) and have transmitted the mixed blood with the Reed name which is so common among the Cajans. The census record indicates that one of the Reed daughters also bore a family of Reed name.

The census sheets give us the following information on number of free colored or mulatto families named Reed, also including those listed as black who seem to belong to the group:

1830

Washington County 1 (one of three free colored families)

1840

Washington County 1 (including 14 members, the only free colored family in the county)

(44) Green, op. cit., 14.

1850
Mobile County-1
Washington County-2 (the only free persons in the county listed as mulattoes; also held slaves)

1860
Mobile County-?
Washington County-3

1870
Mobile County-2 (1 mulatto, 1 black)
Washington County-6 (4 mulatto, 2 black; Rose Reed living with daughter's family also; one black female family head had mulatto children) (45)

1866
Mobile County-?
Washington County-12 (46)

The expansion of the Reed family into numerous households was just under way in 1870; previous to the appearance of the grandchildren of Rose and Daniel Reed as family heads, the number of individual families was limited to five. The census data confirm statements made above to the extent that all three sons of Rose and Daniel are listed with mulatto wives while the married daughters in the record are listed with white husbands.

A second line of Cajans was founded by Lem and Anna Byrd. Lem Byrd is rumored to have been a soldier of Jackson's in some of the Indian campaigns that brought him to Alabama. Again the expansion in numbers has been rapid. Five children and 27

(45) 1830 data from Carter G. Woodson, Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830 (Washington: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1925); other years from original schedules of U. S. Census; these volumes are on file in the National Archives by year, county, and state; further references to census data will not be given. The Woodson data have the advantage of being indexed as well as selected.
(46) Ala. census of 1866, filed in Ala. Archives, Montgomery.

grandchildren are known to have produced 119 great grandchildren; and, to the date of our record, 19 of those were known to have produced 66 of the next generation. That the Reed and Byrd fertility is not entirely a thing of the past among the Cajans is attested by a living woman in her 80's who claimed, to date, eight children, 43 grandchildren, 15 great grandchildren, and one great great grandchild. The early census records give the following information on the Byrds who were classed as free colored or mulatto:

1830
Mobile County - no families

1840
Mobile County - 1

1850
Mobile County - 1 (Lemuel Byrd from N. C. and Anna Byrd from Ga.)

1870
Mobile County - 4
Washington County - 1

Marriages between the Byrd and Reed descendants have been especially numerous.

The Weavers are traced back to two men, Jim Weaver and Dave Weaver. Their nominal descendants appear to be more numerous than either the Byrds or the Reeds at the present. Anna Byrd is said to have been a Weaver; support for the statement is given by the fact that several Weaver children were living with the Byrds at the time of the 1850 census and that some of the Weavers are listed as having been born in Georgia, whence they are supposed to have followed the Byrds

to Alabama. Census data on free colored families named Weaver include:

1830
Mobile County - 1

1840
Mobile County - 1

1850
Mobile County - 1 (and 4 children listed with Lemuel Byrd)

1860
Washington County - 1
Mobile County - ?

1870
Mobile County - 1
Washington County - 6 (one in a Reed family)

Concerning the less numerous families, old-timers tell various stories. The Hopkins name was introduced by a white man who joined the Cajan group. The Chastangs came from a Creole offshoot. The names Johnson and Johnston appear to have become distinguished when the whiter group attempted to draw a line against the darker by changing the spelling, the latter are said to have followed suit, but the t now seems to belong to the darker group. The Sullivans and Riverses are said to have been poor whites from near-by parts of Alabama. The census data on these families summarized below give some of the diversity of sources of these people and the mixture in progress:

1820
Baldwin County (included present Cajan area)
Johnson and Sullivan among white people with slaves; some free negroes included with these households.

1830

No evidence among free colored population except for Chastangs in Mobile County who were certainly Creoles.

1850

Mobile County

Taylor - 2 free colored
Johnson - 2 free colored

1870

Mobile County

(Personnel of railroad and lumber camps figure in the census).
Rivers - 3 (2 mulatto; one white family, wife born in Italy)
Johnson - 1 mulatto (born in Ga.)
Orso - 1 white
Taylor - 2 mulatto (one from S.C.)

Washington County

Orso - 1 (family head white, wife black)
Chastang - 2 mulatto (one the founder of the Cajan line of Chestangs)
Newburn and Patrick - white people listed with one of the Reed families; both these names figure in the Cajan family trees.

The social status of the Cajans during this period can only be surmised. That many were labeled in the census as free colored persons and mulattoes is evidence that they were not accepted as white. What they may have then done to keep themselves separate from the negroes can only be guessed. Most of the negroes, of course, were slaves and were therefore socially separated from the Cajans. Two generations passed between the time the Cajan seeds were sown in the area and the time when the barrier between slaves and free persons of color was legally lifted. This may have been ample time for the latter to build their fences, aided perhaps by the contempt

which the slaves themselves often expressed for the anomalous freedmen. Perhaps the industry of Daniel Reed in obtaining the sum of money to free his wife and slave-born children (47) was repaid in this slightly improved social status.

The possibility that Indian blood was present in the earlier Cajans is unexplored; on the frontier of that day there was ample opportunity for such blending. There may well have been a later infusion of Indian blood through the detention of a group of several hundred Apache warriors under Chief Geronimo at Mt. Vernon; they were recorded at this location in the census of 1890 (48). This detention is said not to have been a strict imprisonment, and it is quite possible that some mixing with the Cajans took place.

From the foregoing evidence, it is safe to conclude that the Cajan origin was diverse. There is no unity evident in the family backgrounds, nor is there any apparent reason why these original families should have settled in this area. Sheer numbers seem necessary to have kept this group from being submerged or dispersed as others have been.

The Reeds' operation of a cattle-penning station epitomizes the early economic life of the area. Agriculture was entirely on a subsistence or sporadic basis, except near the city of Mobile. The early settlers were chiefly livestock

(47) Purchase of son recorded in Washington County Deed Book G, 198.
(48) U.S. Census Office, Eleventh Census, Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), 132.

men operating extensively on the scattered second-rate pasture of the forest openings and the forest floor (49). By 1890 only 1.5% of Mobile County was improved farm land; today the figure is nearly 5%, but it is not characteristic of the Cajan land (50).

The 1850 census of agriculture (51) lists in Mobile County:

> Zeno Orso, holding 40 acres of land, 200 cattle and some hogs;

and in Washington County:

> Rosa Reed, holding 36 acres, 2 horses, 20 milch cows, 2 oxen, 10 other cattle, 22 sheep, 20 swine;
> Thomas Reed, with holdings similar to Rosa's;
> Mark R. Sullivan, with no land, but 25 hogs and raising some corn;
> Joahnah Sullivan, with no land, but various livestock.

In this region a 40-acre tract is worth little and is certainly incapable of supporting the livestock held by some of the owners; the landholdings were only a base for operations on the open ranges. Very little of the land held by the farmers was listed as improved. In the regular census most of the men listed their occupations as farming, but the values of their holdings were usually small. In 1870 the occupations of "wood-cutting" and "draws wood" were noted. In 1870 most of these people were listed as illiterate as they had been earlier.

A period of railroad building and lumber exploitation followed. Presumably the cattle-grazing continued through this period, while those squatters who owned no property were

(49) Everett E. Edwards, "The Settlement of Grasslands", Grass, U.S.D.A. Yearbook of Agriculture, 1948 (Washington; Government Printing Office), 17.
(50) Soil Survey of Mobile County, 7.
(51) Alabama volume filed in Alabama Archives, Montgomery.

not permanently dispossessed. The fires which accompanied the lumbering operations were probably as little of a disturbance as those which continued to renew the grassland each year until the very recent past. The old-timer of today remembers the wagons used to haul logs and square timber to the bluff of the Tombigbee near McIntosh; these wagons were drawn by four pairs of oxen hooked up with hewn timber. Some of the local timber went into ties for the railroads. The Cajans played a part in the ox-driving as well as in the lumbering itself. The exhaustion of the virgin forests has left the forest industry dependent on left-overs.

Throughout their history, the localization of the Cajan family groups (by surname) has been essentially what it is now. This localization is confirmed by the census and land records and by tradition as well as by the very fact of the present residence concentrations. The Washington County tract books show that much of the land now owned by the Cajans was obtained by them between 1875 and 1904 (a little of it having been obtained under the homestead law of 1862). Most of it was then handled in quarter sections; today the majority of the parcels are smaller, sixteenth sections (40 acres) being not uncommon (page 71). Evidently the land has become scarce and the ownership among the Cajans has been divided. By contrast, the Washington County records show transactions of the former lumber companies involving as much as 200 square miles (52).

(52) Washington County Deed Book 15, 391.

The social survival of the mixed group through the thorough lumbering-over of the region in the fifty years following the Civil War is interesting. It is plain that the Cajans cannot have remained apart and unknown. The lumber camps can hardly have failed to provide a source of new blood for the Cajan mixture. In fact they quite likely contributed to the Cajan existence rather than retarded it. The lumbering period began coincidentally with what must have been the first period of large numerical increase in the Cajan population. These camps also provided a source of employment for the Cajan population of the region. Once the Cajan economy turned to the lumbering industries, it became commercial, and a self-sufficient isolation became impossible.

During their first hundred years the Cajans lived in an area of human cross-currents. A period of pioneer entry and occupation by both sedentary and semi-nomadic grazers, during which the small-scale operator was characteristic, was followed by an influx of laborers employed by great outside capital to construct the railroads and raze the forests. Attachment to the land is somewhat unstable; in part the small operator has come back. The temporary, moving population may occasionally be represented by the hunter or the surveyor.

That the present habit of residence near accessible roads is new in the life of the Cajans is attested by even rather recent residents of the region. Twenty years ago few roads crossed their territory; most of the houses were located in

Fig. 10. A "bush arbor" constructed for outdoor religious services.

Fig. 11. Strange roadside figure in Cajan area. No explanation for it was obtained; it may have been constructed as a joke to play on someone's superstitions.

Fig. 12. Poorly kept Cajan cemetery.

woods, accessible only by foot-path. The construction of the roads provided a new type of home-site; with a growing population and rapidly disappearing resources, the needed shift in economy was probably hastened as the roads were provided. It is reported that many of the houses were actually moved from distant sites to the road. Where Murphy (53) stated in 1935 that the houses were usually near water and hence away from the roads, today hardly a house is to be found that cannot be reached by road (54).

The establishment of schools which the Cajans could and would attend also dates from this period.

Members of the Cajan group have undoubtedly emigrated in numbers to near-by cities and distant localities. Judging from the dead-ends in the genealogical record, this process has been going on for two or three generations. So far emigration has but slowed the rate of growth of the Cajans, never actually producing a decrease in population. As long as early marriage is common, the oncoming generation will continue in the pattern of the old without the opportunity to accumulate the vision or ability to achieve a better condition.

Conclusion

The origin of the Cajans was diverse and their beginning small. Their founders were people mixed themselves, listed

(53) Op. cit., 14.
(54) U.S.G.S., Citronelle and McIntosh Topographic Sheets, 1943.

as mulattoes, coming into the area from other localities, at least in part from states of the Atlantic Coast. The group has grown by an extraordinary multiplication of these independent units, which happened to settle in the same area and which mixed with one another, other people of the area, and later immigrants.

Their area has been a refuge in being undesirable and undeveloped, though not inaccessible. When desired it has been entered and used with the coöperation of the Cajans. Though living within their island, the Cajans have, in the latter half of their history, depended on filling a small function in a much larger commercial economy.

It is my impression (no more can be claimed for it) that the negro characteristics of the Cajans are unmistakable, but that none of these negro characteristics (except, perhaps, the curliness of hair) is as marked as the skin color. The likelihood (concurred in by many local residents) of some part Indian or Spanish blood is hence acceptable though it cannot be proven.

The Cajan population and the conditions which distinguish it are not being actively depleted by current tendencies.

V

THE REDBONES OF SOUTHWEST LOUISIANA

In parts of five parishes of southwest Louisiana lives a recognized strain of people locally termed Redbones. These people, unlike the Cajans, are not residentially concentrated in a single island nor are they so easily characterized or investigated. They do tend to live in rural clusters in certain areas, but many are now located in the towns. Officially these people are classed as white, as is evidenced by their attendance at white schools; socially they are not accepted by white society.

The Redbones are usually recognizable in appearance, most being dark in hair and skin, some bearing negroid characteristics, some leaning more toward the Indian types. Though scattered over a wide area of the pine hills, the Redbones throughout bear a limited number of English surnames and are unquestionably a single group by ancestry. Time, the spread of education, and the improvement of transportation are closing the gap between the Redbones and whites in this area. The Redbones are considered by most whites as mixed-bloods, however, and the marriage barrier tacitly erected against them remains strong. Unless the populations of these rural areas and towns become much more mobile socially in the future than they have been up to the present, it will take more than one generation to wipe out this seldom-mentioned caste distinction.

Differentiation of Redbones from Other People

Redbones are given an occasional passing mention in literature dealing with Louisiana culture and peoples, but they are not, to the writer's knowledge, identified anywhere in the literature other than as being a mixed group of the southwestern part of the state (1). Informed people who do not live in southwest Louisiana commonly state that there are several groups of Redbones of different origins living in different spots. This confusion is evidenced by a prize-winning story published in a well known magazine and titled "The Redbone," in which the protagonist was a rather doubtful character with a French name and of Catholic faith (2); this characterization aroused vigorous protests when the story was published. The term Redbone can reasonably and properly be defined exactly, however, and the people included under it can be located within a specific area.

Louisiana may have more people of borderline race than any other state, a present condition which reflects its variegated past; these peoples are found in many parts of the state, but particularly in the southern parishes which were once settled by French people. The French have the reputation for

(1) E.G., Redbone is mentioned as a local name for people of Indian, negro, French, and Spanish blood to be found in Natchitoches and Calcasieu Parishes by Roger W. Shugg in Origin of the Class Struggle in Louisiana (University, La., Louisiana State University Press, 1939), 43.
(2) Ada Jack Carver, "The Redbone", Harper's Magazine, CL (Feb., 1925), 257-70.

lack of resistance to racial mixture, and mixture with both Indian and negro took place openly (note the famous Quadroon Ball in New Orleans). When Louisiana became American, the issue of this racial mixture was left in a still more anomalous situation which has never been clarified (the State Vital Statistics Bureau has a full file of borderline cases in racial birth registrations, many of which will finally be settled in court). Some of these groups live in regions still predominantly French and receive little notice from others; some live in relative isolation in the bayou country and form racial islands. Some are undoubtedly mulattoes (in the broader sense of all white-negro mixtures); others have preserved much of the Indian tradition. The latter are sometimes generally classed as Redbones, but this term is only a convenient one that has diffused from its more specific use. Many names are applied to these peoples; some are called "high yellows," others "free-jacks;" a particular group go as Sabines (though they do not live near the Sabine River); another people is accurately described under the phrase "Cane River Mulattoes." Any use of the term Redbone among the groups above is incidental. In Allen, Rapides, Vernon, Beauregard, and Calcasieu Parishes (Fig. 13), however, is a group who are not well known outside of that area, but who, within that area, are nearly always called Redbones. This group is not merely another locally named concentration of mixed-blood people. All the results of my inquiry indicate that the Redbones have two

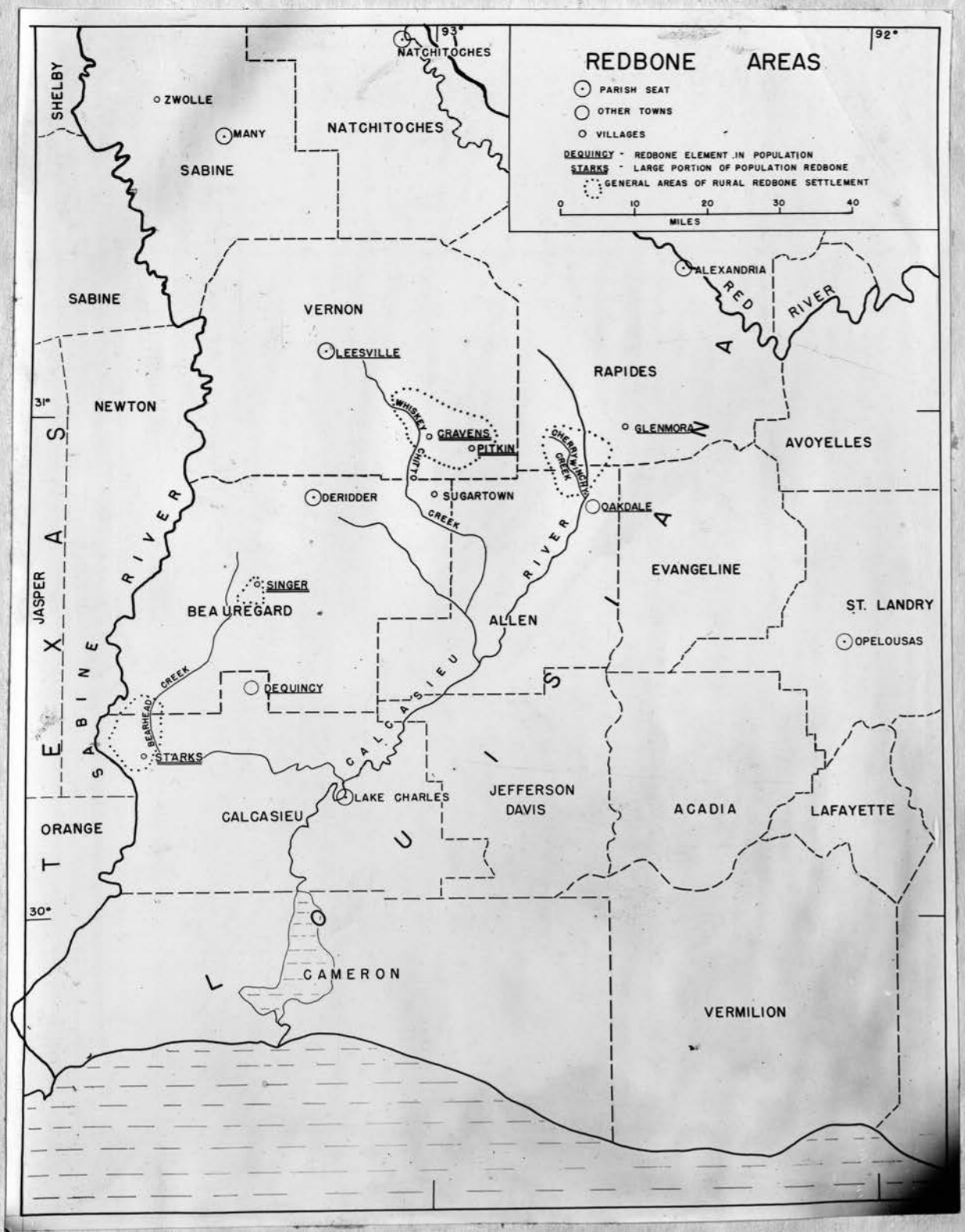

REDBONE AREAS
PARISH SEAT
OTHER TOWNS
VILLAGES
DEQUINCY - REDBONE ELEMENT IN POPULATION
STARKS - LARGE PORTION OF POPULATION REDBONE
GENERAL AREAS OF RURAL REDBONE SETTLEMENT
0 10 20 30 40
MILES
93°
92°
31°
30°
NATCHITOCHES
SHELBY
ZWOLLE
MANY
SABINE
VERNON
LEESVILLE
NEWTON
JASPER
DERIDDER
SUGARTOWN
SINGER
BEAUREGARD
DEQUINCY
STARKS
BEARHEAD CREEK
WHISKEY CHITTO CREEK
CRAVENS
PITKIN
CHERRY WATER CREEK
GLENMORA
ALEXANDRIA
RED RIVER
RAPIDES
AVOYELLES
OAKDALE
EVANGELINE
ST. LANDRY
OPELOUSAS
ALLEN
JEFFERSON DAVIS
ACADIA
LAFAYETTE
CALCASIEU
LAKE CHARLES
ORANGE
CAMERON
VERMILION
SABINE RIVER
CALCASIEU RIVER
TEXAS
LOUISIANA

Fig. 13.

characteristics which make them unique among all the mixed groups of Louisiana: their English surnames and their Protestant (usually Baptist) religion. They appear to be distinctly and completely a product of the Anglo-Saxon frontier. The other groups mentioned are all French in name, usually French in language, and all Catholic in religion. One other mixed group in Louisiana completes the picture of which the Redbones form so unique a part. In and near Sabine Parish is a group classified as Mexican who probably derive from Spanish days in the region; I have not visited this area, but have been reliably informed that this group is not connected with the Redbones or French groups.

Physical Characteristics and Appearance

As in the case of other mixed people, there is no typical Redbone. There are, however, some types of Redbones. The white people in the area recognize those that resemble Indians and those that show more of the negroid characters. The ones that resemble Indians are distinguished by straight black hair and smoother skin. The other type of Redbone is more easily characterized. They appear heavy-set and of only medium height, with large heads, square-built. The hair is black and curled in tight ringlets, but not frizzly. The forehead tends to be nearly upright, but the whole face has a slight backward slope. The nose is prominent but rounded. The skin is frequently coarse. Some of the Redbones show that homeliness which

sometimes occurs in combining the lighter skin with the negroid features. It is said that this "clash" occurs in mixtures of English and negro, but that Latin peoples "blend"more pleasingly with the negro. If this tradition has any validity, many Redbones show their Anglo-Saxon background.

People familiar with theRedbones report great heterogeneity of physical types in a single family. One commented that about one child in four shows the negroid hair.

Habitat

The land of the Redbone is not basically different from that of the Cajan. It is at present cut-over pine land of the Southern Coastal Plain.

Because the Redbones are spread over a larger area, the topography shows a greater variety. The southern border of the pine lands shows very low relief and very gentle slopes. Farther to the north, elevation and relief both increase.

In soils the Redbone has a distinct advantage. The cloud of dust a car raises on the country roads, tells that most of the soils of this part of Louisiana are not so coarse as those of the Cajan island. They are nevertheless high in fine sand content and belong in the same general classification. The vegetation in the Louisiana region was naturally much like that in Alabama. In Louisiana, however, the process of reforestation has not been effectively initiated by fire protection, and wide expanses of the nearly flat land appear as open prairies, the

trees being hardly dense enough to obscure the horizon (Fig.14).

The Redbone area does not reach south of the pine lands. The rice prairie was settled late in Louisiana history, largely by outsiders, and no concentrations of Redbones are known within it. Starks and the environs of De Quincy in the northern part of Calcasieu Parish mark the southern limits of the group.

Whereas the Cajans inhabit some of the poorest land to be found in their vicinity, such a statement cannot be made about the Redbone localities. One parish agricultural agent reported that the best land in his parish was in the hands of the Redbones.

Economy

The Redbones who still live in their rural home areas are characteristically small farmers. In fact one of the Redbone concentrations is known locally as "the region of the three-acre farm." The characteristic comment is "I don't know how they can make a living from that farming." The three-acre reference may be exaggeration, but the cultivated fields, fenced near the buildings, are nearly always small. The chief crop is corn, in keeping with the regional pattern.

The open cut-over land offers large areas for grazing, and this industry is a very important part of the farming; the range is open, and the animals are not pure breeds, but appear to flourish. Much of the range land is owned by oil companies or other interests who have no objection to its use for grazing.

Fig. 14. Unprotected cutover land.

Fig. 15. Farmstead typical of Redbone habitation. The house corresponds in roof outline, though probably not in floor plan or proportion with Kniffen's (3) "shotgun" type, which he maps as common though not dominant in a part of the Redbone area.

(3) Fred B. Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXVI (Dec., 1936), 186,191.

That most of this land has never been plowed is evidenced by the large stumps of the old pine forest still in the open fields. Fields for agriculture are occasionally cleared by burning the stumps.

The freshly charred condition of the standing stumps and the almost complete absence of trees show that the land is regularly burned over. Burning in early spring is considered to be beneficial to grazing; in the summer it may destroy the grass on which the grazing depends. In spite of the large rosin content of the stumps, they do not burn easily. This region is currently being cleared of stumps to provide raw material for a number of pine oil plants.

The Redbones have a lingering reputation as distillers.

A second group of Redbones is employed in various occupations in connection with the extraction of the forest products. Some small towns which are inhabited mainly by Redbones appear to depend on this industry and the provision of stores and services for the surrounding agricultural people. The sawmill and the railroad siding lined with pulpwood or stumps are the chief signs of the fading forest industries. The swamp hardwoods provide more of the large lumber than is now obtainable from the pines.

In addition, a Redbone group is found in each of the towns and parish seats of the area. Employment is obtained in the pine oil extraction plants as well as in various other businesses.

Houses

Farm houses in the Redbone area are often located back from the roads (the dust raised by cars on the roads offers ample reason). The houses are of simple construction, but often far more adequate than those possessed by most of the Cajans. Many types were noted, but a one-story frame house with low roof, gabled at one end and hipped at the other, is very frequent. The farmsteads often include a small enclosure with some kind of shed for the animals (Figs. 15 and 16).

In the small towns visited a greater variety of small wooden houses was observed; these were usually built of whatever materials might be available, perhaps scraps from the lumbering industry. In keeping with the variety of houses is a haphazard arrangement of lot sizes, shapes, orientation, and relation to street. Many house lots seem to be on no street at all, while others provide room for animals - chickens, pigs, or cows (Fig. 17).

Roads through the rural parts of the Redbone parishes are fairly good dirt roads, that often follow the section lines, and adequate to serve the population at the present time.

Education and Schools

The Redbones officially have white status and are not separated in the schools. Some rural schools are so located as to be in areas where most of the children are Redbones. In the towns they go to the white schools without question

Fig. 16. Redbone homestead near Cherrywinchy Creek; black-haired children playing near laundry kettle on left.

Fig. 17. View of Starks and its surroundings.

except in rare instances when a pupil is of obvious negro ancestry. Lawsuits have occasionally resulted from attempts to exclude them, but, for a long time, no question has been raised about the group as a whole.

All the schools are nowconsolidated. Attendance at high school is common, and a very small fraction of the Redbones go on to college.

Some of the schools report that the Redbone pupils are socially maladjusted with the others; in other cases minor problems such as fighting on the school buses are chronic.

Social Relations

At the present time the Redbones are seldom mentioned as a separate group by the people coming in daily contact with them. In fact one man even said that the term Redbone was not familiar to the younger generation. Yet no one of the numerous people in the Redbone parishes to whom I talked was ignorant of the term or of the group to whom it applied; in fact the term was seldom mentioned in making inquiry until it was used by the person interviewed - but it always came out.

The term Redbone has been fiercely resented by its bearers. The recognition of the Redbones as an object of inquiry very often elicits the standard warning: "But don't use the word Redbone around them; they're awfully quick with the knife." In this locality the term mixed-blood may be sufficient to carry the same connotation, since the two categories are usually

identical. Occasionally these people may be called Dominics (p. 269).

The well-to-do white people do not meet the Redbones socially. A hint or recognition of negro blood is sufficient in the South to make a mandatory line; the Redbones are mostly poor people, and this line is not entirely out of place socially and economically. Redbones may attend high school dances, for example, but they stick mostly within their own group on such occasions. Children are usually kept informed by their parents as to who are the mixed-bloods if there is any doubt, and restraint is ordered in social relations with them. Thus marriage between the Redbones and the people not mixed with this strain occurs rarely. Most such mixing is between the Redbones and those whites on the lower end of the social scale where lines are less sharply drawn; it expands the Redbone portion of the population.

One blooded South Carolinian residing in a near-by parish commented "I'm proud of my white blood and would not want my children, if I had any, to marry anyone from that (the Redbone) part of Louisiana; the mixing has gone so far that you cannot be sure of anyone's ancestry."

In spite of these dotted color lines, it is said, by comparison, that the Syrians of the area, with their low living standards, actually have a status below that of the Redbones.

The Redbones and the negroes have little to do with each other. There is apparently no friction between them in the

towns, but it is said that negroes never go into the rural Redbone regions. The Redbones, of course, are in the position of other borderline peoples in having to draw the color line sharply.

The Redbones seem to cling together; the family ties are strong throughout the group over its entire spread.

Population

Estimates of the number of Redbones are based on estimates of the whole group or the school group in the individual parishes. The present total seems to be, at the very least, 3000, and it is quite likely many more. Fig. 13 shows the chief regions where they are found.

The groups near Cherrywinchy (named on maps Cherrywine) Creek in Allen Parish are said to show more of the Indian physical characteristics, while those near Pitkin are more of the negroid type. Elsewhere my own observations favor the negroid type discussed above.

One school official who had included them in his census territory commented that they appeared to be a very healthy group; no physically handicapped children were reported in the group in his district. Another official in another parish reported that they were up to the standard of whites so far as health was concerned.

Large families are the rule among the Redbones. This source of their population increase is probably more important

than marriage outside the group.

Names

The following names were given by my sources of information as characteristic of Redbones: Ashworth, Buxton, Bedgood, Butters, Clark, Cloud, Doyle, Dyess, Hyatt, Johnson, James, Maddox, Nelson, Perkins, Pinder, Strokher or Strother, Sweat or Swett, Willis, Ware, Wisby. The underlined names are the most frequently mentioned. It will be noted that the assemblage of names has a particularly English ring. Certainly the French and Spanish portions of the population can be ruled out of consideration as having played important parts in the white background of the Redbones.

I have no data on the given names now common among the Redbones. Historically their given names, as recorded in the census records, have been strikingly drawn from the Old Testament. Such was the common practice in an earlier day.

Some areal differentiation of the important names exists, but most of them are well spread through the five parishes. Some differences in family types are described: for example, the Strothers are said to form a high-class group, with a high fraction of white blood; the Wares are mostly Indian in physical type, while the same source indicates the Doyles as negroid; nearly pure Indian types are attributed to the earlier members of the Nelson and Willis families.

Religion

Only two churches were reported in connection with the Redbones. Traditionally they are Baptists. Recently some progress has been made by the Pentecostal Church. A number of Redbones have been preachers in the Baptist group, which is the most popular church in many parts of Louisiana. In this region of cultural meeting the strong identification with a Protestant religion again serves to distinguish the Redbones from the French groups, especially in view of the conservative nature of Catholicism.

Culture Traits

The Redbones are not reported as having any cultural peculiarities unless it be the use of the knife as a weapon. This carry-over from earlier days may well be the result of a feeling on their part of persecution by other people. Given quick tempers and resentment, probably not more than a few incidents have produced this reputation. Its justification is probably more a matter of the past than of the present.

Regional Description

It has already been pointed out that the names and physical types of the Redbones show certain concentrations within their own localities.

Some of the Redbone settlements are primarily agricultural; the Cherrywinchy and Whiskey Chito area between Allen,

Vernon, and Rapides Parishes belongs in this classification. The Redbones have some of the better land of Vernon Parish including some stream bottoms which are quite fertile. Most of the land is not under cultivation, but most of the people are cultivators. The small farm with some grazing land is the usual rule. In northern Calcasieu Parish the land is very poor compared with the Parish as a whole; it is here that the rice prairies give way to the pine lands. Lumbering and grazing industries appear to be more important than attempts at tilling the soil. The Redbone settlements through Beauregard Parish are scattered, and the economic activities are divided between the small farm and lumbering, grazing being most important in terms of acreage used.

Several villages are populated in good part by Redbones and are known for that fact. Starks is the southwesternmost concentration of Redbones; its population is perhaps 300 people, living in small frame houses arranged in haphazard pattern as described above (p. 116). The village and its rural environs support a school of 150 pupils. Estimates of the Redbone proportion of the population range from 50% to 90%, the former probably being more accurate. The population all together is a varied group of blondes and dark-skinned types; many of the latter would look at home in a Mexican colony in Southern California. The economy of Starks is centered on its sawmill, which, in turn, is located on the railroad. Other Redbone (perhaps to the extent of 50% of the population) villages are

Singer, Pitkin, and Cravens; they closely resemble Starks, but apparently without the concentration of settlement.

Origin and History

The earliest records of the Redbones available to us come from the censuses of the region, the first of which was taken in 1810. Here we find groups of people with the surnames found among the present Redbones classified as free persons of color. In later censuses these same people were classified as mulattoes. In some parishes, though classified as white, people of the same names are found in groups. It is evident that the ancestors of the present Redbones are involved and that they were mixed at that time.

The records obtained from the census sheets for various years are summarized in Table 10.

It is notable that the later records show that some of these people came from South Carolina. The records are fragmentary in this respect, but nowhere contradict the hypothesis that South Carolina is the chief source of Redbones. Since some of these same individuals are listed as mulattoes, it is also evident that those recorded as being of Carolinian birth were themselves mixed; the conclusion is that Louisiana is not the locus of original racial mixture for this group, but that they have come in from other regions. Since South Carolina is the present home of at least 19 separate mixed groups (4), one is tempted to try to connect the Redbones ancestrally with

(4) Berry, op.cit., 39.

Table 10

Families with Redbone Names or Other Names of Interest Taken from Louisiana Census Records

1810

Avoyelles Parish
- Clark, white
- Johnson, white

Opelousas County (later St. Landry Parish)
- Clark, white
- Johnson, 3 free colored, 2 white (one holding slaves)
- Nelson, free colored
- Perkins, 2 free colored
- Sweat, free colored (holding slaves)
- Thompson, white
- Willis, free colored, (holding slaves)
- Goin, 2 free colored
- Going, free colored
- Ash, 2 free colored
- Bass, free colored

Rapides Parish
- Clark, white and free colored (same family)
- Thompson, white

1820

Natchitoches Parish
- Thompson, white

Rapides Parish
- Clark, white
- Perkins, white
- Ware, white
- Willis, white

St. Landry Parish (including most of southwest La.)
- Ashworth, 4 free colored
- Clark, one free colored, one white (holding slaves)
- Johnson, one free colored, 2 white (one holding slaves)
- Nelson, one free colored, one white
- Perkins, 11 free colored
- Strother, white (holding slaves)
- Sweat, 4 free colored
- Thompson, 2 white (holding slaves)
- Wisby, free colored
- Going, free colored

Table 10 (cont.)

Dial, 3 free colored
Bass, free colored
Chavers, free colored
Bunch, free colored

1830

Rapides Parish
Ash, white
Perkins, 3 white
Willis, white
Johnson, white
Swet, 2 white
} all listed on same page

St. Landry Parish
Quelquesui (present Calcasieu Parish)
Johnson, free colored
Buxton, free colored
Ashworth, 4 free colored
Perkins, 5 free colored
Gowens, 2 free colored
Clark, free colored
Willis, free colored
Bayou Mallet Township (presumably in western part of present St. Landry Parish)
Chavis, free colored
Bayou Teche (presumably east of Opelousas)
Chavis, free colored
Dial, 4 free colored
Sweat, 2 free colored
Johnson, free colored
Bass, free colored
Nelson, free colored

(There were very few other free colored persons with English names in St. Landry Parish; the families listed above averaged 7.0 persons).

1850

Calcasieu Parish (including much larger area than today)
Perkins, 6 mulatto, 6 white, one of each born in S.C., one white born in Ga., rest in La.
Ashworth, 5 mulatto, one born in S.C.
Pinder, one white, born in S.C.
Johnson, several white
Goodman, one mulatto, born in Ky.
Clark, one mulatto, one white
Bunch, one mulatto
Bass, 2 mulatto, one white

Table 10 (cont.)

Goan, 3 mulatto
Buxston, mulatto
Thompson, several white
(above families mostly closely grouped)

Rapides Parish
Perkins, 3 white, born in Ky. (1) and S.C. (2)
Willis, 3 white, 2 born in S.C.
Buxton, white
Strother, white, born in S.C.
Swett, white
(above families apparently in same part of county; a Perkins showed up in a Buxton family; evidently the same people is involved as in Calcasieu, but the Rapides census-taker again chose to call the Redbones white by omitting the color symbol opposite their names, following the usual practice.)

1880

Calcasieu Parish
Bass, 2 mulatto, one born in Miss., parents born in S.C.
Ashworth, 8 mulatto, one white, one's parents born in S.C.
Clark, 5 mulatto, one's parents born in S.C.; one mulatto, wife of negro, born in N.C.
Pinder, white, born Ala., parents born in S.C.
Doil (from Dial?), 4 mulatto
Wisby, mulatto, parents born in S.C.
Johnson, mulatto
Buxton, 3 mulatto, one white
Perkins, 13 mulatto, one white; one of mulatto's parents born in S.C.
Dial, 2 mulatto
Nelson, 2 mulatto
Thompson, mulatto (listed with negro group)

Rapides Parish
Ward 6
Dyel, 6 white
Perkins, 5 white, one born in Miss., parents born in S.C.
Nelson, one white
Sweat, one white
Dyle, white
Johnson, 8 white, parents of one born in S.C.
Strother, 6 white, parent of 3 born in Miss.
Dyes, one white
Willis, 6 white, parents of one born in two Carolinas
Ware, 2 white
Buxton, white
Ward 5
Apparently a few were located in this ward also, but the lack of concentration made any assumption unsafe.

one of these.

As further evidence of a connection with mixed groups in South Carolina, two facts may be pointed out. The first is that we find in these Louisiana census schedules the names of free colored and mulatto peoples which are not identical with the present Redbone names and which are not French (and there were not many meeting these two conditions), which, in addition, are reported from mixed peoples in South Carolina today; these names are Goins, Chavis, and Bunch, and they were found in the same districts in South Carolina as free persons of color in the census of 1790 (5). To this list we may add some other names of interest found in the Redbone area and historically or at present in North or South Carolina. This material is summarized in Table 11. These non-Redbone names found in the Louisiana census records are in the same parishes, but not always in striking association with people of present Redbone names. Some of the common Redbone names have no traceable connections with other free colored persons; for example, the only free colored persons named Ashworth in the United States in 1830 were in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana (p. 126).

The other fact is that the Richland County mixed-blood peoples in South Carolina are also called Redbones (6). To my knowledge the term Redbone is associated only with these two mixed groups in any specific use, though its French

(5) Ibid., 37.
(6) Berry, op.cit., 34-5.

Table 11

Summary of Names Occurring in Association with Louisiana Redbones and Elsewhere as Mixed-Blood or Free Colored

Louisiana	Name	Elsewhere (as mixed-blood or free colored).
Non-Redbone names occurring in census records as free colored persons in association with Redbones	Goins	Melungeons, Darke County, S.C.-1830 (Kershaw and Sumter Districts) and now; (Fig. 59).
	Chavis	South Carolina-1790 (Cheraw, Edgefield, Orangeburgh), 1830 (Barnwell, Edgefield, Richland, Sumter), and now; (Fig. 61).
	Bunch	Melungeons, South Carolina-1790 (Berkley, Orangeburgh), and now.
	Bass	Darke Co., S.C.-1830 (Marion).
	Dial	Croatans (in North Carolina on S.C. border).
Redbone Names	Swett	S.C.-1790 (Cheraw), 1830 (Chesterfield, Marlboro, Sumter), and now.
	Strother	S.C.-1830 (Abbeville, Fairfield).
	Willis	S.C.-1830 (Barnwell).
	Johnson	Cajans, S.C.-1830 (Edgefield).
	Nelson	S.C.-1830 (Fairfield).
	Clark	S.C.-1790 (Lancaster, Richland), present mixed-bloods of Rockbridge County, Va.

equivalent, Os Rouge, is reported to have been applied generically in early Louisiana to negro-Indian mixtures (7). There is some indication that its application in the Carolinas may once have been wider, since mixed-bloods in Robeson County, N.C., and Sumpter County, S.C. are both reported to have been called by that name (8). The possibility is here suggested that the mixed peoples were swept along in a general westward movement from South Carolina to the Louisiana frontiers and that the term Redbone was also carried along, probably by some of the white settlers, and suitably applied to a collection of South Carolina mixed-bloods and new stock from Louisiana and Texas which agglomerated as they found sympathetic community groups in one another's company. There is no justification for considering a single mass transfer from Richland County, for only Chavis and Clark from the names in Table 11 have been recorded there, but a general movement of people and a name from South Carolina seems entirely possible.

A second condition which may prove useful in interpreting the early history of the Redbones in southwest Louisiana involves the fact that the territory near the Texas border was formerly a no man's land. It is locally said that the territory between the Sabine and Calcasieu Rivers was claimed by

(7) Writers' Program, Louisiana, Louisiana (New York: Hastings House, 1945), 88.
(8) Stephen B. Weeks, "The Lost Colony of Roanoke: its Fate and Survival," Papers of the American Historical Association, V (1891), 466.

both the United States and Texas and policed by neither. The Spanish, in their day, made claims to land east of the Sabine (9). The later dispute, however, concerned the land between the Sabine and Neches Rivers, which was finally awarded to Texas in 1840 (10). The area was very sparsely inhabited, however, up to the time of the settlement of the dispute, when the population was closing in on the southwestern corner of the state (11). A report of about 1850 marks the Sabine River country as having a motley population of mulattoes and poor white Creoles; many had set out for Texas and failed of the mark, while others had returned to escape the severe Texas law against miscegenation (12). In fact Olmsted mentions a wealthy family of mulattoes on the Texas side of the border named Ashworth who were said to be three to four generations removed from black blood. In view of the indications that some of the Redbones may have lived farther east in 1830 and of the sparsity of settlement in this area at that time, it may be possible that some of them found it desirable to move westward toward the border and away from the lands of older settlement. If the Redbones were originally squatters, outlaws, or merely fleeing an intolerable situation

(9) James Alexander Robertson, translator and editor, Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1911), 155-6.
(10) Charles O. Paullin, Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States (Carnegie Institution of Washington and American Geographical Society of New York, 1932), Plate 93G.
(11) Ibid., Plate 76D,E,F,G.
(12) Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey Through Texas (New York: Dix, Edwards, and Co., 1857) 386-7.

in South Carolina, they might have found a suitable home here.

The term Redbone is usually understood to connote the presence of Indian blood (even though it may also carry the stigma of negro blood). The earliest personal account of the Redbones obtained was from a man of 93 who remembered living in the Cherrywinchy country immediately after the Civil War. Here there were both white and Redbone farmers and, though the people could see the difference of skin color, no social distinction was drawn. All were ready to help and be helped by their neighbors. Some of the people had a distinct Indian appearance and made efforts to obtain land in Indian Territory. In a discussion about one of these people a man remarked "If we could see his bones, they would be as red as any chief's in the nation." This, according to the old man, was the origin of the term Redbone. Since he was only a boy at the time, it may simply have been the first time he had heard reference to the term. He further expressed the opinion that, if the story were known, it might ease some of the resentment later caused by the use of the term.

Pitkin, the center of Redbone concentration in Vernon Parish, is said to be the oldest settlement in the Parish (13); two of the names of the earliest settlers were Maddox and Bedgood.

All conversation with life-long residents of southwest Louisiana indicated that the Redbones are a part of the region

(13) Leesville Leader (weekly), August 7, 1947.

and have been there as long as memory and the transfer of the spoken word can tell. This is consistent with the early census record of them. They are not all reported as being harmless farmers, however. One man, who, when a boy (before 1900), lived near Sugartown,had contact with Redbone groups moving between their Cherrywinchy Creek settlement and their Singer settlement. They formed a rough group, and a number of killings for robbery were attributed to them when outsiders passed through their territory at night. Roads were few, travel was by horse, and the country was seldom visited or crossed by other people.

The 1850 census lists many of the Redbones as "grazers," and the people of that country are reported to have kept herds of half-starved cattle and goatish swine (14).

With the development of the lumber industry and the growth of population and towns, increasing numbers of Redbones have moved out of the farming areas. Contact of the rural areas with urban people began developing before 1900. One of the first large manufactured items bought by many Redbones was a cook-stove to replace the fireplace, a conversion not completed before the recent War; this was often placed on an open, but covered, platform next to the house and later enclosed as a formal kitchen. During the War many of the Redbones received unaccustomed income from employment; they are said to have put much of it into improving their rural homes and equipping them them with such furnishings as refrigerators.

(14) Shugg, op.cit., 45-6.

Like the Cajans, the Redbones have had their timber cut out from above them. This period apparently did not disrupt their settlement permanently. Many probably profited from leasing their land as well as from working in the industry. The removal of the forests has probably improved the capacity of the land for grazing purposes.

The Redbone group will continue to increase as long as the negro blood can be traced, remembered, or suspected. It may eventually be diluted to the point where the increase can easily pass as white. In this part of Louisiana, however, a Redbone group will certainly be recognized as long as a sharp color line is drawn and as long as the Redbone descendants remain in the area. The presence of this group is too well ingrained and too well known for the native whites to overlook it.

VI

THE MELUNGEONS OF EASTERN TENNESSEE

The Legend

Melungeon (Malungeon, Malongeon, etc.) is a widespread term in the native vocabulary of East Tennessee and near-by parts of Virginia. This is not to say that it is universally used or understood; indeed it is probably familiar to only a minority of the people in East Tennessee, and certainly the images connoted by the word are widely variant. It will later be developed that the use of the term is definitely associated, though often remotely, with reality, but it is the plan to describe first the legend which has spread with the word Melungeon, along with the meanings of the word which have traveled farther than the legend.

There is little to tell us when "Melungeon" was first coined and put into use. Swan Burnett (1) reports its use when he was a young child in Cocke County, Tennessee. He was born in 1847, and implies that the word was well established at that time. His first recollection of it was associated with the admonition to be good, the alternative being "the Melungeons will get you." It was only on growing beyond the age when such threats are effective that he learned that these dangerous creatures were people, set off from others by the darkness of skin and their classification as Melungeons.

In the bitterness following the Civil War, Middle

(1) "A Note on the Melungeons," American Anthropologist, II, (Oct., 1889), 347-9.

Tennesseans are said to have referred derogatorily to East Tennesseans as Melungeons (2). Again familiarity with the word is implied. No references to these epithets are cited, however, and I have found none in newspaper files.

The Tennessee Constitution of 1834 disfranchised the free persons of color (3), including the Melungeons according to accounts. The Melungeons are said to have had their right to vote restored by legislative act in 1859 (4). The implication is that the group was well known at that time, but we are not told whether they were called by that name. I was unable to find the act in question.

Melungeon has also become a term of general derogation, apparently without specific implication other than that the individual's shortcomings are deep-seated or even innate. To refer to a person as a "damn Melungeon" is quite sufficient to dismiss any pretensions he may have had to general respectability.

Many people have only heard of the Melungeons as a group and have heard one or more of the stories of their nature and history. Others may know one or two people or a family who are seriously said to be Melungeons, but know the species only

(2) William T. Hale and Dixon L. Merritt, A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1913), I, 179.
(3) Joshua W. Caldwell, Studies in the Constitutional History of Tennessee (2nd edition, Cincinnati: The Robert Clark Co., 1907), 148.
(4) William E. Cole and Joe Stephenson Looney, "The Melungeons of Hancock County," (typewritten ms., TVA-CWA project, 1934), 5.

through these stories. They probably will know that Hancock County or its Newman's Ridge has been a great center for the Melungeons. Beyond that the stories diverge.

A favorite story has it that the Melungeon ancestry is Portuguese - perhaps sailors shipwrecked or deserting on the Carolina Coast who made their way inland to the mountain refuge and took up with native Indian women. One informer went so far as to make Melungeons out of any people of Portuguese descent, but this theory does not fit the persistent rumor clinging to a particular group. A famous lawyer in a famous case not only convinced the court that the Melungeons were descended from Portuguese who migrated to South Carolina and later moved to Tennessee to avoid restrictions imposed upon them unjustifiably as free colored persons, but even traced the history back to Carthage and Phoenicia (5).

Other stories attribute the Melungeons' skin color to mixtures of Indian or negro blood. There is a persistent belief, however, that the mixture is unusual. Some of the older articles cited the mythical sterility of the octoroon as evidence that the fertile Melungeons could not have negro blood (6). Others attribute a strange Oriental appearance to the Melungeons. Another story, often repeated in one of several forms, is that the Melungeon skin color is immiscible with the white and that the throw-back of pure Melungeon phenotype will appear

(5) Lewis Shepherd, "Romantic Account of the Celebrated Melungeon Case," in Memoirs of Judge Lewis Shepherd (Chattanooga, about 1914).
(6) E.g., article in Nashville Banner, Aug. 3, 1924.

sooner or later if the apparently white Melungeon descendant marries (7). An unusual story attributes to the Melungeons a lip like a horse's that turns outward in the process of laughing.

It is frequently stated that Melungeons were found in the area by the first Scotch-Irish adventurers who crossed the mountains into Tennessee (8). Others would link them with the Cherokee legend about previous occupation of East Tennessee by white people, a story which has been developed into an early conquest of America by the Welsh (9).

The history of Melungeons after their settlement in Hancock County has also been given some interesting turns. After prospering in lowland settlements, they are supposed to have been deprived of their fertile farms when they lost their right to vote; it was at this time that they took refuge on Newman's Ridge and turned to illicit distilling and began raiding the lowlands (10). A peculiar turn of these illegal activities was the production of counterfeit gold coins which were eagerly sought when it was learned that they actually contained more gold than the legal issue (11). The Civil War is supposed to

(7) E.g., Otho N. Walraven, "The Melungeons at Oakdale," (typewritten ms., WPA Federal Writers' Project) filed in Knoxville Public Library.
(8) "The Melungeons," (typewritten ms. from Federal Writers' Project, filed in Knoxville Public Library).
(9) Benjamin F. Bowen, America Discovered by the Welsh in 1170 A.D. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1876) 111-2.
(10) Will Allen Dromgoole, "The Malungeons," The Arena, III (1891), 470-1.
(11) James R. Aswell, E.E. Miller, et al., "Tales of the Melungeons" in God Bless the Devil I Liar's Bench Tales, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of N.C. Press, 1940), 211.

have offered them great opportunities for robbing the supply lines of the armies, and their bushwhacking is a stock part of the history (12).

The most famous Melungeon of all was Aunt Mahala Mullins, who dispensed the illegal whiskey and brandy produced by her several sons. Over a period of years the sons were killed in various fights, but Aunt Mahala, victim of a defective gland, continued to grow to an enormous size; long after the day when she was too large to get out of the door of her cabin on Newman's Ridge, she continued to dispense the bootleg products. When the revenue men obtained a warrant for her arrest, they found, to their dismay, that the act could not be consummated because they lacked the legal right to make the alterations to the house necessary for her removal. When she finally died, she was boarded up in her own bed and removed from her house by cutting away a part of the wall (13).

Other interpretations of the Melungeon story make of them an anarchistic band of wandering mountaineers, taking refuge in caves and, at times, living temporarily in crude huts (14). Some insist that the Melungeons are a mountain-loving people who are never found far from the highlands; others would make

(12) See (8).
(13) Miller and Aswell, op.cit., 226-243. I have been convinced by the insistence of numerous persons that the story is based on truth. Mahala Mullins and several sons are listed in the census of 1850 (as household 106, 33rd subdivision, Hancock County) and other years.
(14) Bruce Crawford, "Hills of Home," Southern Literary Messenger, II (May, 1940), 302-313.

them a potamic people, never found far from the streams, and usually making their livings as fishermen or boatmen.

Even among people who live near some group of Melungeons, the stories are widely divergent and are often based, as far as background is concerned, on one of the newspaper articles published on the subject. Thus the stories with the widest spread have come from the sources aided by the press. The information and attitudes spread by word of mouth which make up the folk-existence of the Melungeons may be of more interest to the investigator, but the influence of the printed word has recently influenced the legend.

Those who are authorities on the Melungeons by virtue of residence near Newman's Ridge itself recognize that Newman's Ridge is the Melungeon hearth, but even here the question "What is a Melungeon?" evokes widely differing answers. Some freely say that the Melungeons are a separate race of people; others recognize vaguely that there is a story about the people, but say that nobody pays attention to it any more. One person was not concerned with the race but with the fact that they were a mean and lawless group (60 years ago) while another (15) declares that the term designates only people who are poor.

For the separation of truth and rumor in the folk-tales and printed stories and for the determination of the original

(15) "Letters to the Editor," The Saturday Evening Post, CCXX, no.25, Dec. 20, 1947, 6-8.

concept at the core of all these attitudes we turn to a study of the determinable facts.

The Present

Melungeons in Hancock and Adjoining Counties

Since Newman's Ridge and Blackwater Swamp in Hancock County, Tennessee (Fig. 18), are almost universally accepted as the home-land of the Melungeons west of the Smoky Mountains, this study of the present distribution and characteristics of the Melungeons will begin at that point.

Hancock County is situated in the Ridge-and-Valley physiographic province on the northern border of Tennessee. Throughout this province in Tennessee an alternation of ridges and valleys formed by the differential erosion of sharply folded and overthrust sedimentary rocks, trends northeast-southwest. Though the "Valley of East Tennessee" is probably so called because of the obscurity of the ridges and its situation between the Cumberland Plateau and the Smoky Mountains, the northwestern part of the province in Tennessee is marked by an accentuation of the ridges and a frequent narrowing of the valleys. Newman's Ridge runs northeast-southwest, parallel with the trend of the other ridges and of the province itself and is laterally situated northwest of the center of the province. The steep dip-slope of Newman's Ridge on the southeast side is covered in good part by limestone, especially toward the top; the ridge stands a thousand feet above the valleys on either side.

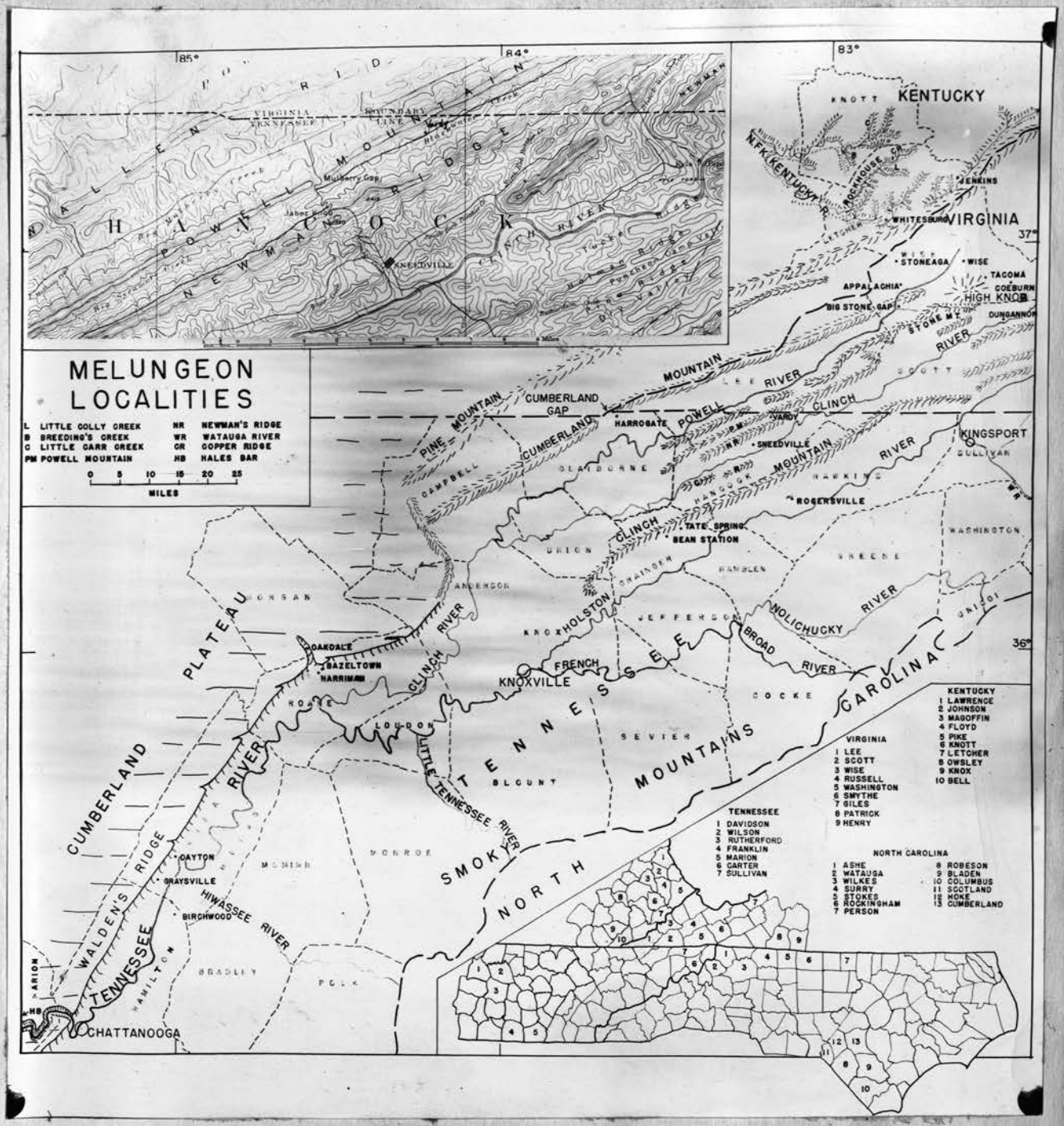


Fig. 18. Map showing localities concerned in account of the Melungeons. The inset at upper left shows a portion of the U.S.G.S. Topographic Map. The inset at lower right locates counties inhabited by Melungeons as well as others in the states shown to which reference is made later.

The automobile road across the ridge from valley to valley requires four miles. To the southeast lie other parallel ridges - Copper Ridge and the formidable Clinch Mountain, and the pattern is continued to the northwest where Powell Mountain is next beyond Newman's Ridge; between the last two lies Blackwater Creek, so named from the appearance of its water where it flows over dark rocks in its lower course. The use of the terms "ridge" and "mountain" in this region is not necessarily an index to the size of the features, for, confining the Blackwater strip, "The Ridge" is in most places a greater barrier than "The Mountain." Blackwater Creek is normally a small stream running northeast toward the Clinch River; it is held to a direct course in the valley in question between minor resistant rocks forming low ledges beyond Newman's Ridge and colluvial material accumulated on the lower slopes of Powell Mountain. True bottom land in economic quantities is virtually absent in the valley, and the strip between the steep slopes of the Ridge and the Mountain is always much less than a mile wide. Upstream to the southwest the valley narrows to such a degree that no agricultural land remains; eventually a drainage divide turns the water southwestward via Sycamore Creek, also tributary to the Clinch. The narrow part of the valley is known locally as Snake Hollow. Newman's Ridge is without a low-level crossing in this vicinity, though some streams have cut narrow hollows far back into it. Blackwater Valley is connected with the next valley by a wind gap (Mulberry Gap) approximately

opposite Sneedville (Fig. 19).

The visitor to this country finds himself in a tight little Appalachian valley extending indefinitely in a longitudinal direction, but usually shaded by one of the high ridges on each side. The population and activity are typical of the region: dense population for farms with so little arable land, dependence on farming and forest industries, economy varying from the typical poor settler of the Southern Appalachians to the substantial, but not wealthy, farmer who has kept closer pace with passing time. It is a mountain region; the people are mountaineers, and their habits and customs belong to the well-known Southern Mountain culture.

But the visitor who motors to Sneedville, the county seat, or even the one who takes the very rough road over the Ridge and drives along the single road of Blackwater Valley past the unpainted houses (Fig. 20) probably does not recognize what an isolated spot this has been in the recent past. Sneedville is a very small county seat (population 400); today it can be reached by paved road from Virginia, and the pavement is broken for only a few miles to the south. A modern drug store and a substantial brick school on the hill are evidences of more recent days, but it should be realized that Hancock County is not close to a railroad and that it obtained its first telephone only a few years ago; there is still no telephone exchange in the county, but one or two business places have public telephones which connect with a long-distance operator. Blackwater Valley

Fig. 19. Mulberry Gap from Newman's Ridge; Blackwater Valley in front of Powell Mountain.

Fig. 20. Abandoned house in foreground; Blackwater Creek flows across the center of the picture; Newman's Ridge occupies the Background.

Fig. 21. An old corn field near the crest of Newman's Ridge. Woods and pastures occupy less badly scarred old fields.

lies close to the center of a considerable area which the railroads surround, but do not enter; the nearest line on the northwest is only fifteen miles away, but in a direction perpendicular to the grain of the country. By passable road the distance is much farther, and it is about the same to rail lines in other directions. Thirty years ago the Presbyterian Church sent an agent on a tour through the mountain country to select a spot in need of a mission. The hardest and most backward conditions he found were in Blackwater Valley. Though they are no longer obvious to the visitor, facts like these should be kept in mind when one tries to peer into the story of the Melungeon past.

The stranger who sets out to find the Melungeons is likely to reach the quick conclusion that a Melungeon is always someone on the other side of the hill. It is doubtful if any person could be found who would seriously identify himself as a Melungeon. Careful inquiry, however, gives a general agreement of opinion among those who are not called Melungeons as to those who are Melungeons. It is this agreement of the insiders (non-Melungeons) as to who are outsiders (Melungeons) which must be accepted as evidence of the differentiation of the group. Though the members of the group in some localities must sense the distinction that is drawn, there appears to be no organization or group feeling which gives these people an internal tie; to be sure, they may marry within the group regularly, but it is only an expression of a combination of a clannishness

common to the mountains and a lack of opportunity for exogamy.

In spite of their common identification with Newman's Ridge, the people considered as Melungeons are not in exclusive possession of any part of it. Rather they are found living alongside of people who are not considered Melungeons on Newman's Ridge and in Blackwater Valley and Snake Hollow between a point eight or ten miles southwest of Sneedville and the Virginia line. The Melungeons share habit and habitat with other people in the area. Hence what is said below about culture and economy actually applies to the region and <u>therefore</u> to the Melungeons in it. Melungeon families are by no means limited to the area defined, but they appear to be more numerous in it, and it may be justifiably considered as their home ground.

Two characteristics are attributed to the Melungeons which may be useful in identifying them: they are dark-skinned or at least mixed with some dark-skinned race, and they carry a limited number of recognized family names.

There are to be found in the territory mentioned above a minority of people who show a skin color which could not be considered white; it is usually a brown or bronze intermediate between a white and the typical color of an American Indian. The homes of these people are scattered, and they have married and live with other people whose appearance would not arouse comment. These people commonly have straight black hair, often of coarse texture. Eyes usually run to brunette shades. What

race accounts for this dark coloring? is the question that immediately arises. The negroid characteristics of kinky hair, cloudy eyes, thick lips, and flattened noses seem to be generally lacking. Certain lines of the Melungeons have been reliably reported to have acquired negro blood, but an obvious negro admixture certainly is not a generic characteristic of the dark-skinned Melungeons observed by me. These people are not strikingly like the American Indian in their physical appearance (nor, it might be added, are a good proportion of the residents on the Eastern Cherokee Reservation). Portuguese and Spanish blood have been suggested by various writers and rumors, but such conforms with appearance only in individual cases. The number of dark-skinned people is not large, but the characteristic demands explanation; in Sneedville on a busy Saturday only seven out of 150 non-negroes observed had noticeably dark skin. In certain of the farm districts of the county, the fraction would certainly run higher if a count could be made.

The most common Melungeon names in this area are Collins, Gibson, Mullins, and Goins; indeed the rule of thumb was once set forth that a person was a Melungeon if his name ended in -ins. Other names include Minor, Bolen, Moore, Delp, Bunch, Bell, and Williams. Most of these names are common in the country, and one must be careful in applying them. In Hancock County they rarely belong to people who are not connected with the Melungeons; in other places where Melungeons are found,

one or more of these names may be inadequate for labeling people as Melungeons. Neither the name nor the membership in the Melungeon group is confined, however, to those of recognizably dark skin; I have talked with numerous people with names such as Collins or Mullins whose appearance would not set them off from any other Anglo-Saxon mountain farmers. One or more members of some of these same families might show the dark-skinned characteristic, while in other cases the families were entirely Anglo-Saxon in appearance, though considered as Melungeons by those who care to make the distinction. Probably a majority of the people in the Melungeon home area have the names listed; this indicates that a few families have multiplied greatly since settling in the area. Some families of non-Melungeon names are equally numerous.

The number of Melungeons could probably be estimated from the names on school or voter lists, but such information was not obtained. It seems safe, however, to place the people in Hancock County with names from the above list at more than a thousand. Twenty-eight houses were counted along one five-mile stretch of Blackwater Valley; a similar number is said to occupy the opposite stretch of Newman's Ridge.

Though the justification for recognizing a Melungeon group is based above on the agreement of the insiders as to who belong in it, it must be realized that this agreement is not universal. The Melungeons are not only by tradition a dark-skinned group; they are also poor and ignorant; even if color is ignored they

fit at the bottom of the white social ladder in this region. Some of the insiders outcast the Melungeons on the basis that they have negro blood; such a belief is sufficient to explain their position in any Southern State (and most of the others too), and, where the color line and racial purity are so important, any unexplained dark skin is to be viewed with the greatest suspicion. There are very few negroes in the mountain country, and the Melungeons have undoubtedly had to shoulder some of the onus of class feeling usually shifted onto them. A marriage line has carefully been drawn; parents have warned their daughters not to associate too closely with the Melungeons for fear that marriage might ensue. Other members of the white population may be called neutrals, recognizing that the Melungeons do exist as a closed group, set apart from the rest of the population, but expressing neither preference nor disdain for them. Another reason for outcasting the Melungeons is reported as lawlessness; these stories were discussed on page 133. The people have gained an unfavorable group reputation; some couple the historical lawlessness with their racial peculiarity; others seem to set them apart on the basis of viciousness alone. Again they were reported to be poverty-stricken people distinguished by no other characteristic; though this definition may be sufficient to some of the neighbors of the Melungeons, there is no question that more must lie behind the word to account for its persistence and its restriction to this specific group. Certainly the Melungeon

who succeeds in improving his economic position has a better standing among the insiders than is normally due his ancestry. One outstandingly successful businessman in a town near the region has a Melungeon name (though hardly a dark appearance) and is generally known to spring from that stock. With many people the attitude toward him is only respect for his achievement; with some to whom I talked it was a matter of regret that a lax society would permit one of this inferior race to wield such influence.

The Melungeons are officially classed as white, attend the regular schools, and are not actively or openly discriminated against in any way. Their recognition by the insiders is on a whispering level; the subject is probably seldom mentioned. A Presbyterian mission at Vardy operates one of the county schools and a church; it is not specified or intended as a mission to the Melungeons, but as a mission to a backward community. The school and church are attended by Melungeon and non-Melungeon alike.

The Melungeon economy is mostly the typical farming of this region, in good part self-sufficing. The average farm is small in cultivable land. Those who have some valley land are most fortunate, but they usually have a much larger proportion of hillside land too steep for cultivation. Corn is the major crop, wheat being grown occasionally; most of the farmers keep cows, and other animals are also raised. Most of the hillside land is in pasture and forest, the former having

been particularly encouraged by the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Agriculture Adjustment Administration. Tobacco is a usual cash crop, grown in valley and on slope alike. Newman's Ridge is mostly in wood, but clearings dot its dip slope; the scarp slope shows hardly a sign of a farm. On the Ridge the crops are alternated with pasture and woods in long rotations, and frequent limestone exposures testify to severe erosion on land once plowed up-and-down hill (Fig. 21); some of these spots have reverted to poor forest. Most of the families grow vegetables for themselves during the warm season; "shuck beans" may be strung up to dry as a means of preservation for the winter (Fig. 22). The diet of the farm family is heavy, as tradition indicates, in pork and corn bread. The corn meal is probably purchased from the store, however, for local mills for custom-grinding are now scarce. A woodburning cook-stove and two or three metal beds make up the purchased furniture in the poorer houses. Water is obtained from near-by springs, shallow wells, or from the stream.

Some of these people on the Ridge live half a mile or more from any road. Some obtain all or part of their income from forest industries. Blackwater Valley is dotted with sawdust and waste-piles, marking the recent locations of portable sawmills. A variety of trees was cut during the war-time demand, and the forest is badly depleted; some of the smaller trees can be cut for "paper wood," and the dead chestnut trunks can be removed for "acid wood." Several families obtain most of

Fig. 22. "Shuck beans" strung up to dry on the porch. These green beans are strung with a needle; pods and beans are cooked together for winter meals.

Fig. 23. Pile of white sarsaparilla roots drying and awaiting the dealer's truck. Their extract may make its way back to the mountains in some patented tonic.

their cash from root-digging; the high price has kept the ginseng and goldenseal supply near the vanishing point, but other roots and herbs are exploited in cycles depending on the price of the species, the knowledge and preference of the gatherer, and the state of depletion of the material. One family in 1947 collected mostly roots including gravel root (wild yam, Dioscorea villosa), spignet (Aralia racemosa), and white sarsaparilla (Aralia nudicaulis)(Fig. 23), in good part from the woods within walking distance of its home. Another was specializing in the bark of black haw (Viburnum prunifolium). The depletion of one of these would probably turn them to another the next season. Root-digging is a hard way to earn a living, and the work is practically confined to the season when leaves will identify the plants. The roots do not shrink so much on drying in the fall or late summer, when a better return for the work is received, but the person dependent on this source of income must set out with his pick and gunny sack on all possible days during the warm season. The harvest of walnuts in the area is sizable each fall; many tons are shipped out. Some people obtain food by hunting squirrels and other small animals, but local people say the game is greatly depleted as compared with earlier days. Distilling is probably a minor source of income in the area now; the raw materials are corn, wild persimmons, and, perhaps, apples, though the last are not now produced in quantity.

The land is certainly populated to its limit. The families are above average in size, and emigration to industrial regions gradually removes the overflowing population. A cluster of abandoned houses in Snake Hollow probably speaks for some of this movement. The Vardy Mission partially measures the success of its work by the observed decrease of 20 to 25% in the number of children entering the first grade each fall during the 30 years of its present regime (some personnel were there even earlier).

Many of the Ridgemanites and Blackwater people attend the church at the Presbyterian Mission. Many others follow the Missionary Baptists or some similar group of less fixed locale. Melungeons have had a part in the snake-handling activities which have brought newspaper publicity to this part of the country in recent years.

Melungeons are a recognized element in the population of several counties adjacent to Hancock, but seldom in any definite concentrations. They are frequently seen in Rogersville, seat of Hawkins County, and some own farms in parts of the County. Here, as in Hancock, the Melungeons are recognized on the whispering level, but they are not openly discriminated against. They have been reported from the vicinity of Tate Spring in Grainger County, a popular spa of by-gone days, where they used to be an object of curiosity to visitors when they came down from Clinch Mountain for supplies, employment, or loafing. Poor Valley, cut in the Mountain above Bean Station is said

to be a present center for the group, though it also contains other people; this little community of small houses and small farms offers a marginal existence for its population; farther up the mountain a few other small shacks, perched on the slope, house people who certainly have no visible means of support (Figs. 24 and 25); a bootlegging business has been reported along the highway. On another road farther north I have also noticed, in shacks on the mountainside, dark-skinned people who probably belong to the Melungeon strain. The Melungeons in these counties have the same names as those in Hancock.

Lee County, Virginia, north of Hancock, has also received its share. A man familiar with the people and the County estimated their number at 500. Here the Melungeons are mostly agricultural laborers, general laborers, and tenants, though the thrifty have been able to enter businesses of various sorts. In Hancock County the Melungeons, living on their own poor farms, form a well-established part of the country stock; in Lee County they are rarely land-owners and are widely scattered - apparently a newly-arrived group. Besides the common names already given, Sexton and Freeman are also prominent in this County. Here the intermarrying habits of the group are summed up in the saying "If a Collins marries a Goins, their children will be Gibsons." The limestone outcrops of Lee County form a fair amount of "bluegrass land," somewhat more desirable for livestock-raising than the general run of the mountain country. Most of it is owned by substantial farmers, and the laborers have probably

Fig. 24. Cabin by highway crossing Clinch Mountain. This and Fig. 25 either belong to Melungeons or others living in the same locality and manner.

Fig. 25. Log cabin seen from highway across Clinch Mountain.

Fig. 26. This woman is considered a Melungeon at Dungannon. To local residents she resembles an Indian.

had less opportunity to buy in. Some of the Melungeons who work on these places live in the hills in crude houses, making part of their income from hunting and fishing (14). In Lee County, too, several negroid strains are reported among the Melungeons, and there seems to be little doubt that this mixture has crept in. One woman is said to have explained her kinky hair by a story of having been dropped in a puddle of water when she was an infant. The Melungeons are considered care-free and irresponsible.

Melungeons are reported in other parts of this area. One was a barber at Cumberland Gap. A faculty member of Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate said that students are occasionally recognized as Melungeons. They are said to be employed farther east in industrial communities such as Bristol and Kingsport.

Melungeons in Scott County, Virginia

Scott County is another rough section of the Ridge and Valley Province. Its Melungeons are found in several localities, but seem to be concentrated around the community of Dungannon in the northeastern part of the County. Dungannon lies on the bank of the Clinch River in a section where the tilted rocks are mostly limestone. This situation produces a country with some fertile alluvium, but much more rough, sinkhole-spotted land used mostly for grazing. The land is not

(14) Bonnie S. Ball, "America's Mysterious Race," Read, XVI (May, 1944), 64-67.

poor for agricultural purposes, but Dungannon is not close to any important towns and, though served by a small coal-carrying railroad, it is,in most respects, off the beaten track. The village shows the marks of decline. Its agricultural environs have not kept up its support except in the matter of the school now fed by bus at the expense of the former one-room schools. The farms have also been on the decline; most of the old owners have moved away or have died, leaving the farms to children who had moved away before inheriting the land and were not interested in trying to hold them.

This decline of the rural region is not at all unusual, but the existence of this situation in an area of partly Melungeon population provides a very instructive set of conditions under which the nature of the Melungeons may be analysed. The Melungeons in this area have, as long as local residents can remember, provided most of the agricultural labor needed. A true rural proletariat, typical again of the Southern poor white, they have lived in hillside shacks scattered about the country, on the farms where they worked,or in other spots where they have been permitted to settle. They have been clearly and distinctly the outside class, and the country people draw the line consciously and deliberately. These people have been known as Melungeons in the area and considered as offshoots of the Newman's Ridge homeland; they are variously considered to have Indian, negro, or simply Melungeon blood. As elsewhere, the people are described as looking like Indians or as having

that characteristic Melungeon look; "why I can recognize a Melungeon a block away if I've never seen him before," is the claim of some residents. Several of these people were pointed out to me; to my eye they appeared only as poor and not-too-well-fed mountaineers; the suggestion of Indian features or darkness of skin was not evident, and, assuming that some of their ancestors had these characteristics, they must have been lost by dilution. It is not doubted that these people are of Newman's Ridge stock; it is only contended that distinctive appearance is not evident to the unpracticed eye (Fig. 26). The names of these people are typically Collins, Gibson, and Sexton, with the addition of some peculiar to the county such as Sluss and Swinney, which are considered there as local names introduced into the Melungeon group by intermarriage.

The observer who studied this County alone would find only a poor white class, identified by a peculiar name and traced by rather specific stories. An occasional family probably shows the dark skin. The common surnames are probably sufficient to confirm the stories which tie this group to Newman's Ridge. It seems a reasonable interpretation that the taint of Melungeon blood is considered as hereditary and that it has followed these people where they have gone. It is also evident that the Melungeon here has fitted into a common Southern social pattern and, with this one slight difference, fills the shoes of the poor white class.

As the country population declines, the ever-present

Melungeon population is ready to take its place. They once had the status of laborers, partly supported by hunting and foraging; now they frequently rent as independent tenants from an absentee owner; and a few Melungeons have been able to purchase farms in the last 15 or 20 years. The remaining residents of the older country stock begin to feel pushed out by what they consider an inferior group; their friends and neighbors are replaced by the Melungeons, and their children attend school with an ever larger proportion of Melungeons. Some of the Melungeons have left the shack by the back woodlot and have moved into the two-story frame house of the former or absent owner, now in a poor state of paint and repair. The members of the old stock consider them lazy, thriftless, ignorant, and dirty, but this process of replacement will undoubtedly continue in the future. When the old farmers move out and leave the land, the farm labor group, which is too conservative or too ignorant to follow the same path, then has its chance.

The number of Melungeons in the Dungannon vicinity is difficult to estimate, but probably amounts to a few hundred. One resident of the region was able to count, from personal knowledge, over a hundred living descendants of a single Melungeon woman.

Melungeons in Wise County

The mountain counties of southwestern Virginia have grown rapidly in population during the present century with the opening of their coal mines. Agriculture uses what land is suitable for it; apples and other fruit are grown on some of the slopes and peaks. Numerous towns have grown up in this rough country to support and serve the mining activity. The country is settled, but quite irregularly.

The irregular border between the coal-bearing rocks of the Appalachian Plateau and the generally older rocks of the Ridge and Valley Province contains High Knob, one of the highest peaks of Virginia, the culminating residual point of a broad local uplift. Stone Mountain, a lower elongated ridge forms a portion of this mass on the south side. Stone Mountain and High Knob are relatively inaccessible, mostly in forest (partly set aside as a park), and traversed by two or three poor roads. Land that can be used for farming is found along some of the gentler slopes.

This mountain mass is another Melungeon stronghold. They are recognized southwest of Wise and Tacoma below the High Knob as well as west of Coeburn on Stone Mountain. Like the Dungannon group, they do not seem to be unusual in appearance (Figs. 27,28, and 29); yet they are known to the townspeople as Melungeons and considered as a group apart. A few show a brownish cast to the skin, but many are not even brunettes. Again the surnames are typical: Collins, Freeman, and Sexton.

(Mullins is a particularly common name in this area, but it is not to be identified with the Melungeons.)

The High Knob people live in particularly rough country, and their scattered cornfields look almost vertical. Large families live in two- and three-room shacks. The old people are very friendly and command respect in spite of their poverty. Supplementary income can be obtained by working in the mines or elsewhere, and some walk the several miles each way as long as the job lasts; transporting kerosene or other supplies up the mountain is no light task. Several families are scattered about the hillsides and hollows.

Stone Mountain is lower and not so rough; it offers room for a rural community with farms adjacent to one another, often separated by fences. Most of the land is in pasture, but the sources of income are varied; wood-cutting, bee-keeping, and non-farm jobs play a part. Most of the houses are near the road, and some of the people own cars. A fundamentalist-type church serves the community, which is not entirely Melungeon in make-up.

Here, as also in Scott County, the Melungeons are often known as Ramps; the only explanation offered for this term is that it is the name of a wild onion or similar plant which the people pick in the spring and eat (15). One informer in Coeburn made it clear that he considered some of these people "all right;" by this he apparently meant that they were honest

(15) Cole and Looney, op.cit., 38.

Fig. 27*. Melungeon resident on High Knob. Save that his features are more angular, he resembles many of the Wise County Melungeons.

Fig. 28*. Melungeons inside cabin shown in Fig. 29.

Fig. 29*. Mountain cabin belonging to Melungeons on High Knob.

*Photographs provided through courtesy of Luther Addington, Wise, Virginia.

and civilized rather than gypsy-like cave-dwellers as some are said to have been; he nevertheless considered them an alien strain. Though visually passable as members of the white race, a number of these people present a characteristic appearance: curly black hair and lean faces with rounded features. The Melungeons in this vicinity are not limited to the mountains, but are also found in and near Wise and other towns. Conversation with some of the Melungeons revealed that they were from Scott County or had relatives in Scott County.

Another Melungeon group is reported to live on Burchfield Creek about five miles north of Wise. A Collins school is very likely a part of this settlement (16).

Away from the immediate vicinity of Wise, the Melungeons are known in most of the towns and mining camps of this part of Virginia. Appalachia, Big Stone Gap, Pennington Gap, and Stoneaga are examples. The trail leads into similar towns of Kentucky, such as Jenkins.

Melungeons in Knott, Letcher, and other Kentucky Counties

A better established Melungeon colony is found northwest of Whitesburg in Letcher and Knott Counties, Kentucky. This portion of the Cumberland Plateau is thoroughly dissected by the numerous tributaries of the Kentucky River and their branches. The narrow but relatively flat valleys of the streams offer the only suitable places for settlement, and they contain the strings

(16) U.S.G.S. Topographic Sheet, Pound, Va., 1912.

of population as well as the roads which occasionally pass briefly over the divides separating the headwaters of different creek systems.

The areas where Melungeons are found include Little Collie Creek (sometimes referred to as "Nigger Collie," apparently in recognition of the dark-skinned strain) which empties into Rockhouse Creek at Isom and the upper portion of Breeding Creek along with its tributary Little Carr Creek. A darkish group bearing the names of Collins, Gibson, Sexton, and Neice is recognized by the other people living in the area as well as by people in other parts of the county. Though they are accepted with some reservations, they are apparently considered as part of the citizenry. The other residents of the area may not seek their intimacy, but they seem to have no active objection to them. They are not usually identified as Melungeons, but the connection is recognized by those who happen to be familiar with both groups. The number of people in this classification is variously estimated at from 300 to 1000.

A small family named Gibson exhibiting the same characteristics is reported to live in the northern part of Pike County.

Other possible Melungeon connections in Kentucky are reserved for discussion in VII and X.

Melungeons in Rhea County, Tennessee

Just as people commonly identified as Melungeons are

found to the north of Hancock County, so they also appear to the south in Tennessee. The most distinctive Melungeon center in this classification occurs in the village of Graysville, in the southern end of Rhea County at the eastern foot of Walden's Ridge. Though evidence has been presented that numerous Melungeons are recognized in towns of the region, Graysville is the only non-rural locality where they form such a distinct class as is typical of some of the rural spots already described.

Graysville is a village of about 800 people, strung along from the valley highway for two miles toward its suburb of Montague on the lower slopes of Walden's Ridge. It is a slow-moving settlement with no real business center and no sidewalks, but serves as a shopping and school center for the local farming region and residence of miners employed on the coal outcrops of Walden's Ridge. The demarcation between village and country is not sharp, some farm land being found within the residence district.

The Melungeons here are characterized by a single surname, Goins, though several others have been acquired, apparently by intermarriage with the Goinses. The group consists mostly of miners and farm laborers and forms 30 or 40 per cent of the population of the town. These people are grouped under the general term, "the Goins," and the better known term Melungeon is applied by the relatively few who link them with the broader group. Some of these people are distinctly dark in skin and claim Cherokee Indian ancestry (Fig. 30); probably more appear

Fig. 30. A Goins family in Graysville. The old man has a distinctly brown complexion and claims Cherokee ancestry. On the right are two of his daughters and their children. The family has tried unsuccessfully to establish an Indian claim.

Fig. 31. A part of Bazeltown.

white and belong to the sort of hereditary proletariat elsewhere described. The fringes of Graysville are frayed with small painted and unpainted houses and shacks which are occupied by this class of people.

The Graysville residents make it clear that the Goins people are shiftless and thriftless, slow and unambitious, but not objectionable. If they fight, they fight with one another; when they are put in jail, it is for drunkenness, never for serious social crimes. They form a rather docile laboring group, never making trouble or trying to push their own cause. This lack of interest, noticeable even in the children, irritates their teachers, and their lack of thrift, as usual, justifies those who would say, "You can't do anything to help people like that."

Occasional families are found in Dayton or in other parts of Rhea County. Their residence in Graysville goes back as far as anyone there can remember. There is no obvious reason for this concentration, though some of the Goinses have given the local welfare office the report that they moved from Hamilton County because they were excluded from white schools there. Right to attend white schools in Rhea County is said to have been established in a lawsuit of the 1890's when Melungeon ancestry was shown not to be negro. Some have been employed on farms for a long time, and some of the older people remember certain Goinses as mountain-dwellers and expert hunters.

Other Melungeons in Southeast Tennessee

This part of Tennessee is filled with the Melungeon tradition, surprisingly so in consideration of the small number of individuals of the group still surviving.

In Hamilton County the name Goins crops out now and then. These people are occasionally singled out by the newspapers for interviews. One of them, for some educational accomplishment, was one of a group awarded a free trip to Washington; school authorities were quite surprised at his color when he appeared for the journey. One or two families, "who don't seem to be one of us," still live near Birchwood in a largely wooded section of the valley now isolated by one of the new lakes.

Several members of the Goins family live in Marion County near the river crossing at Hales Bar. They have traditionally operated ferries; some now work at the dam, and others own farms. Some of these people are living much more substantially than is typical elsewhere. People who are not familiar with the word Melungeon accept their claim of European ancestry.

At least one member of a Goins family is left in Franklin County; no group is recognized, but the family is known to be darkish in skin color. Melungeons have been reported on the Cumberland Plateau in Franklin and several other counties (17). I was uniformly unsuccessful in locating them in these places

(17) E.g., Paul D. Converse, in "The Melungeons," Southern Collegian, XLV (Dec., 1912), mentions Bledsoe, VanBuren, Franklin, Marion, and White Counties.

at the present. A Franklin County farmer said that two families, Goins and Shavers, had lived a nomadic life on the plateau, hunting and root-digging. Some of the Shavers descendants are still in Jackson County, Alabama; they apparently have lost interest in any claim to Indian blood. A person who used to spend his vacation at Monteagle in Grundy County reported that Melungeons had been available there as domestic help.

Melungeons in Roane and Morgan Counties

A possible Melungeon connection of quite different type centers around a rural suburb of Harriman known as Bazeltown. These people are considered locally as mixed negroes, and only an occasional person has thought to connect them with the Melungeons. Bazeltown is a shack-and-small-farm community strung along a little valley between Walden's Ridge and a low parallel ridge east of it (Fig. 31); this line village is about three miles north of Harriman, and its two dozen houses are strung out for about two miles. The age of the settlement is attested by the small number of family names, usually Bazel, Goins, Cochrane, or Johnson.

Some of these people have the brown or yellow complexion and the nearly straight hair of the mulatto or other mixture. Others would not be distinguishable from the black Cotton Belt types. Both types are found in some families. Interviews with some of these people indicate that they have a tradition of Cherokee ancestry, that some of them have tried to establish

Indian claims or have even moved to the Roane County location from Indian Territory, that some claim Portuguese ancestry, and that some who claim Indian ancestry have family traditions of living farther east in the Valley of East Tennessee (e.g., near Sweetwater, but no trace of the Melungeons was found by inquiry there).

One or two families from this group live at near-by Oakdale, a railroad town in a deep gorge in the Plateau. One member of these is said to be a daughter from a family of 27 children, most of whom have now moved away.

Melungeons in Davidson County

It has not been a part of this research to investigate the mixed-bloods after they have moved to the city locations. Some are reported to have moved to Nashville. Davidson County, however, has been reported to have an additional concentration of Melungeons in its northwest corner, outside the city (18). I made inquiry in this vicinity and found that the remnant of a group recognized as alien is still living there. These people take violent offense at any suggestion of negro blood, claiming some southern European ancestry. They have recently been permitted to attend the white schools, but, in the words of a local farm wife, "you can certainly tell they are not our kind of people."

(18) Nashville Banner, Aug. 3, 1924, referring to letter received 30-odd years before, stating that a separate school of 30 children existed in the 24th district of Davidson County.

Shortly west of Nashville the Cumberland River enters the Highland Rim, which is separated from the lowland by an abrupt, though sometimes ragged, escarpment. In places the minor streams have cut hollows into the edge of the escarpment; the River takes a large horseshoe bend (Bell's Bend) as it follows the edge of the Rim and then cuts into it, nearly surrounding an area of several square miles of upland not quite so rough as that to the north beyond its open end. With the hamlet of Scottsboro as a center, Bell's Bend and the hollows to the north form the locale of this mixed group. Some of them live a subsistence life in the hollows; others have taken over farms near Scottsboro. For a long time they have provided the chief source of farm labor in the Bend.

The names of these people are Nickens (for whom one of the hollows is named), Barnes, and Collins. Their number is estimated at fewer than the 200 reported a generation ago. This is another case of a rural laboring class, especially demarked by hint and suspicion of race, at present becoming farmers in a partially isolated area.

Florida

A group of Melungeons is also reported to live near Dead Lake in Calhoun County, Florida. A resident of the county said that their family name is Blanchard. My guess is that we are here dealing with a transfer, not of people, but only of a name applied to them.

Summary on Present Distribution of Melungeons

Most of these Melungeon locations are easily accessible from the Hancock County area. If people were moving from that region in search of employment, they could easily move along or across the valley. The Cumberland Plateau on the west provides a barrier of poor opportunities in many places and has apparently not held a continuing concentration of Melungeons. The distribution of Melungeons is not continuous, but their concentrations are found in a few spots where a few families may have settled and multiplied, keeping in touch with relatives at the old home. We have no proof of migration in many of these cases, but the surnames, tradition, and characteristics indicate its likelihood.

Only one of these concentrations goes as a group on the colored side of the line. The other Melungeons are, within each location, a recognized class of laboring people, a group dipped or believed to be dipped with alien tint, and a closely in-married clan. The Newman's Ridge-Blackwater area appears to be the locality where the Melungeons have the deepest roots; their ownership of land there helps to set them alongside many other farmers in the county. In the Stone Mountain and perhaps Letcher-Knott County areas also the Melungeons are characteristically land-owners, but local tradition and record to be presented later do not classify these with the Hancock County locality as original centers.

The History

The purpose of the material below is to present the documentary evidence bearing on the Melungeon background, to evaluate in this light the rumors and published stories about that background, and to reconstruct what can be told of their past.

Origin of the Word

There is no documentary evidence for the origin of the term Melungeon. The most common statement is that it derives from the French mélange (19) and relates directly to the mixture of races. Others derive it from the Greek melan, meaning black (20), or the Afro-Portuguese melungo, comrade or shipmate (referring to the story of Portuguese sailors shipwrecked on the Carolina Coast) (21). It is difficult to imagine how such foreign words creep into folk-names. Why should backwoods people of Anglo-Saxon background turn to French or Greek for a derogatory term? Converse (22) now favors the Greek origin because of the familiarity with that language on the part of frontier schoolmasters. The Portuguese word is a clever suggestion, but there seems to be too little to support it; if the people were named for the term they applied to one another, it is surprising that its spelling has survived more exactly

(19) Paul D. Converse, "The Melungeons," Dictionary of American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), III, 371-2.
(20) Knoxville Journal and Tribune, July 29, 1923, AP dispatch from Nashville.
(21) "The Melungeons," op.cit.
(22) Personal communication, Jan. 20, 1949.

than its pronunciation in this relatively illiterate frontier. One supporter of the mélange theory states that a large mixed group in North Carolina used to call themselves Melungeans (23); no other evidence is available to support this assertion.

Still another possibility is that the word might derive from the Latin root mal-; this is suggested in view of the reputation of the Melungeons for bushwhacking and meanness during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Words built around mal- are common in English; examples are "malevolent" and "malingerer". In addition the sound of the word adapts it to a derogatory connotation.

It has been suggested that the name Goins might be taken from the -geons of Melungeons (24); the term might also be formed by putting together the common names Mullins and Goins.

Warning

Before reviewing the historical evidence on the subject, it might be well to issue a warning against what may be called thought patterns. What is passed as fact is frequently formed around certain oft-repeated stories. A story must often be judged on its internal merits. Is it consistent? Is it specific? In most cases information following these patterns is not to be considered as possessing merit. Four of these

(23) Hamilton McMillan, Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony (Revised edition, Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards and Broughton Printing Co., 1907) 25, 41.
(24) John Fort, article in Chattanooga Times, Feb. 10, 1941.

patterns will be mentioned here; two are peculiar to this region, and two are more widespread, but, wherever found, they should not be accepted without further evidence.

If a person in eastern Tennessee, or in adjoining regions has dark skin, the most obvious explanation for it is "Cherokee Indian;" this is also a reasonable explanation, but its very simplicity means that it is easily acquired and is therefore suspect.

The second explanation for dark skin is southern European blood, especially Portuguese. This again gives the people a respectable "out"; this particular story is not at all limited to the Melungeon region, but occurs among nearly all the mixed groups.

The story of Melungeon gold has already been repeated. Stories of gold and silver found by their ancestors were several times encountered among the people of eastern Tennessee and adjacent parts of Kentucky. These regions are unlikely sources for the precious metals, and we must consider them as country tales.

A fourth story occasionally met, though not specifically in regard to the Melungeons, starts out "Three brothers came here many years ago ....."

There are also certain social attitudes, already mentioned here and there, which are repeatedly found in relation to the mixed groups; their implications are to be regarded with considerable suspicion.

Hancock County

Proof that the reality of a Melungeon group has at least a historical basis is found in the census of 1830, the earliest surviving enumeration for this area. At that time Hancock County was a part of Hawkins County. In that year the number of free persons of color not attached to white families in Hawkins County was 331, distributed among 55 families. The distribution by family names is as given in Table 12. A population pyramid has been constructed for the group (Fig. 32).

Since this is the first comprehensive set of data on the Melungeons, it seems advisable to analyze it before presenting more material. Not only do the names of the free colored people of Hawkins County in 1830 include few who do not have recognized Melungeon names, but most of the free colored inhabitants were listed in two near-by groups; the listing of the free-colored in each group was uninterrupted by the listing of other family heads. This proximity of names on the census schedule presumably means that the people concerned lived adjacent to one another in one or two communities; perhaps the census-taker covered Blackwater Valley and Newman's Ridge as units on separate days.

Though negroes are scarce in Hancock County today, the 1830 census reported 1619 slaves in Hawkins County. Free negroes were few in Tennessee at this time, and it is worthy of note that Hawkins County had more (nearly twice as many) persons reported by the census as free persons of color than

Table 12

Frequency of Names and Ages of Family Heads among Free Colored People in Hawkins County in 1830

Name	Number of Families	Number of Persons	Number of Family Heads of Apparent Age Groups: 10-24	24-36	36-55	55-100
Bean	3	14	-	2	-	1
Bowling	2	11	-	1	1	-
Cola	1	6	-	-	1	-
Collins	19	117	6	4	5	4
Gibson	12	84	2	1	6	3
Goen	4	14	3	-	1	-
Goodman	2	15	-	-	1	1
Hale	2	15	-	1	1	-
Jones	1	4	-	-	1	-
Minor	2	13	1	1	-	-
Moore	2	7	-	1	-	1
Moseley	1	9	-	-	1	-
Mullens	2	9	1	-	-	1
Nichols	1	11	-	-	1	-
Williams	1	2	1	-	-	-
Total	55	331	14	11	19	11

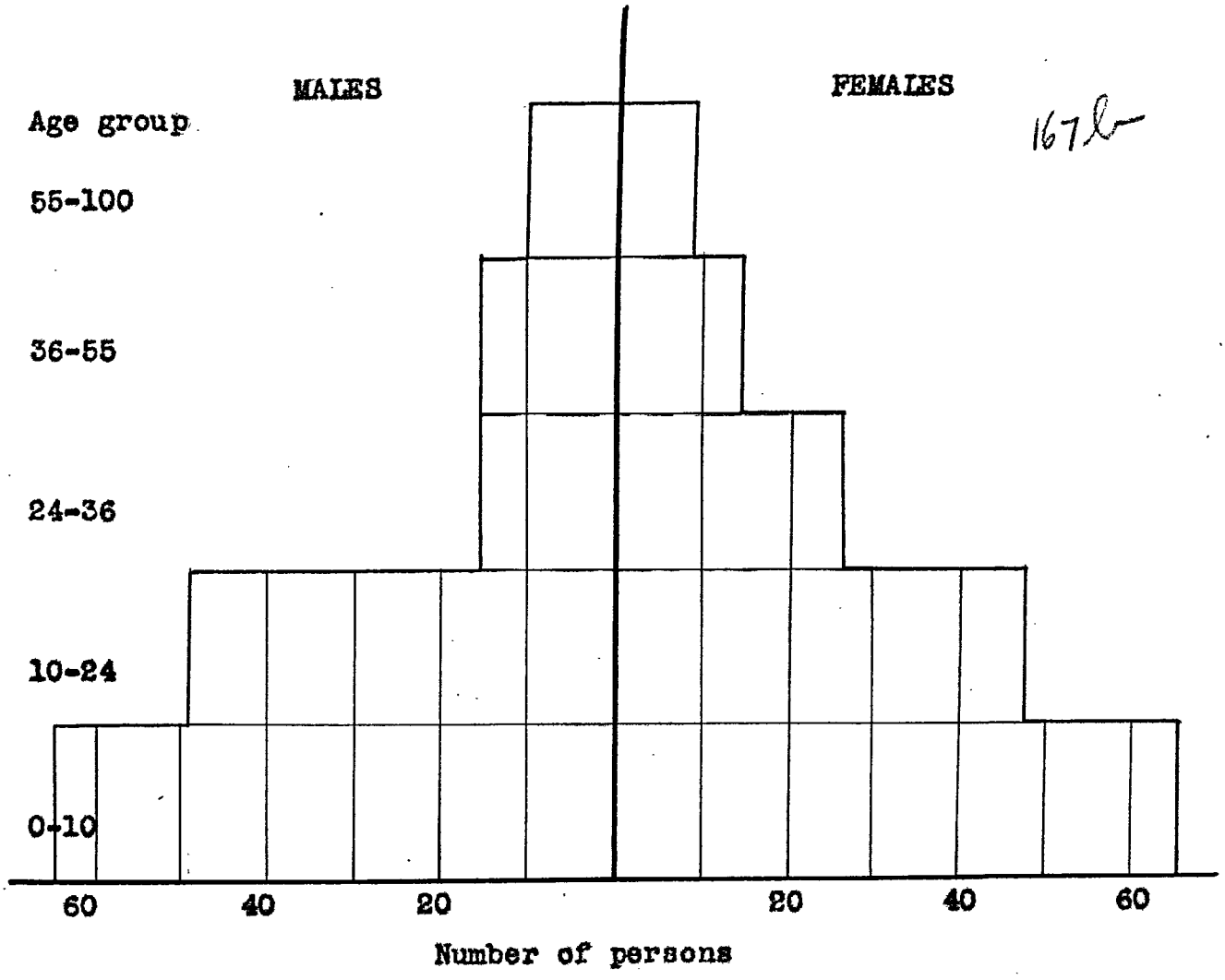


Fig.32A. Population pyramid of free colored families in Hancock County, Tennessee, 1830.

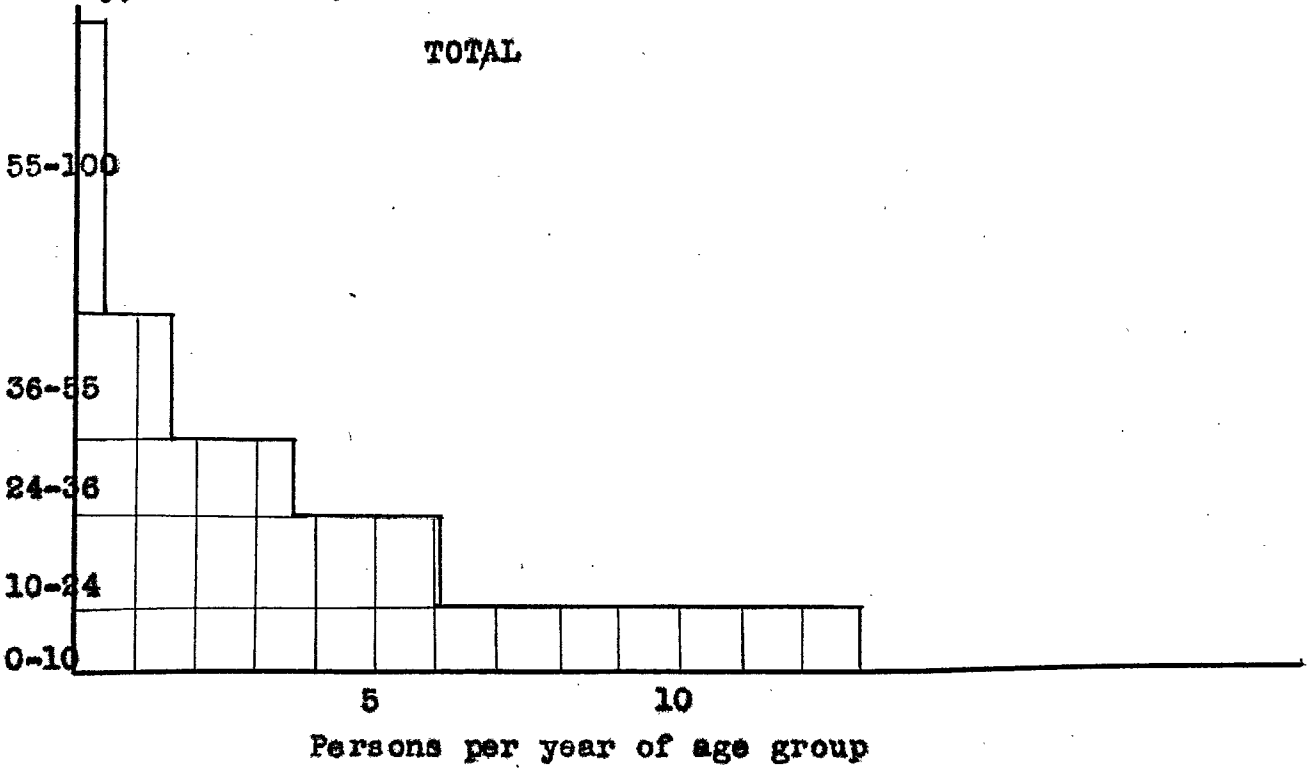


Fig.32B. Population pyramid of free colored families in Hancock County, Tennessee, 1830; modified to eliminate effects of difference in coverage of age groups and sex differences.

any other county in the State outside the city of Nashville. It is not contended here that these persons were negroes, but it is only pointed out that an unusually large number were listed in a category generally intended for free negroes; there was some unusual quality about this group at that time, and at least the census-taker considered them colored rather than white, in exercising his only choice for non-white free persons other than Indians not taxed. But the 310 free colored persons in Hawkins in 1820 were evidently not considered as Indians (p.327).

One other characteristic of this concentration of people limited in number of family names should be mentioned. Though Collins is a common name, the 19 Collins families in Hawkins County listed as free colored in the 1830 census represent many more such families than found in any other county in the United States. On the basis of my use of data of this sort, I believe such a concentration to be very unusual for any family among the free colored population in 1830. We are dealing with a group that not only may have been unusual in blood and social status, but which was also unusual in the clannishness or conservatism or fertility which concentrated so many in one place.

The 1830 census also listed, as white, people named Bunch, Collins, Mullins, Williams, Nichols, Goen, Moore, Hale, and Moseley. It makes little difference to the present argument whether these were white families that happened to have the

same names or Melungeons whom the recorder classified differently; some of them - Moore, Williams, Mullins, Hale, and Nicols - actually owned slaves in 1830; that some of the free colored persons were freed by them is likely and that some of these freedmen consorted with the Melungeons is also possible, but it is considered very unlikely that this entire cluster of Melungeons came from such a local source.

Examination of the age distribution of the heads of families indicates that each family group (including all the people with a single surname) except the Collinses and Gibsons could be descended from a single ancestor not more than a generation removed from the persons in the census list. The Gibson and Collins patriarchs, however, are too numerous for such a condition to be likely; unless settlement took place before the Revolution (contemporaneously with the Watauga colonies), it appears that the immigration of these two clans must have involved several individual families.

The population pyramid is nearly symmetrical, the only significant departure indicating a shortage of men between 24 and 36. We should not expect at this time any shortage of women. But the pyramid is bottom-heavy compared with present-day standards; the possible causes are three: (1) high birth rate as evidenced by the average family size of 6 (even though a quarter of the family heads are under 24); (2) high mortality rate (to be expected at this place and time); (3) immigration of young adults with families (for reasons given later it is

thought that the major immigration is not recent enough for the last to be a controlling factor).

On the basis of names now considered Melungeon it is possible to eliminate as many as 60 of the 331 from the Melungeon camp (though nearly every name listed above is either a Melungeon name or is borne by mixed people in eastern Kentucky today). A competent local historian stated that the Hales were free negroes, but they may nevertheless have thrown in their lot with the Melungeons. Free colored persons in Hawkins County numbered 68 in 1790 (25), 85 in 1800 (26), 16 in 1810 (27), and 310 in 1820 (28). These figures suggest that some of these people may have been there by 1790; the Melungeons in 1830 and certainly in 1820 formed the bulk of the free colored population of the county.

Other evidence for the date of Melungeon arrival is found in the records of Hawkins County. A list of Hawkins County voters of 1790 showed none of their names (29). A purchase of land by Millinton Collins is recorded in 1802 (30). A tax list of 1810 includes 11 of the Melungeon group, seven of whom

(25) Facsimile of The First Census of the United States, "Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States," (Philadelphia: Childs & Swaine, 1791) (reproduced N.Y.C.:Luther M. Cornwall Co.),56.
(26) Similar facsimile of The Second Census of the United States (Washington: Duane, 1801), 2R.
(27) Third Census of United States, Population, 1810, 77.
(28) Fourth Census of the United States, (Washington, Gales and Seaton, 1821), 32.
(29) Obtained from files of a local historian.
(30) Hawkins County Deed Book (filed in courthouse at Rogersville) III, 98.

held between 50 and 150 acres apiece (29); the 150-acre tract was held by Vardemon Collins (more often known as Vardy), according to local tradition the first settler in the Blackwater region and ancestor of the Collins branch of the Melungeons. That he was not the oldest of the Collins line is suggested by the following facts: (1) the 1840 census gives his age as between 70 and 80; (2) in a deed of gift in 1820 Millington Collins speaks of being aged and infirm (31).

Of the 55 family heads listed in 1830, 31 appear in 1840; 24 of these and 29 previously unlisted families appear in a close group on four successive pages. Another 35 families have Melungeon names. An important difference, however, is that nearly all of these people are listed as white. We can conclude only that there was some question as to the color of these people in the 1830's, though we can only guess whether the change in classification reflects the balance of a bitter tension or only a change of census-taker. A few people were still classed as colored, among whose names are Gowens, Hale, and Minor; but families which switched include those having the names Bowlin, Hale, Collins, Gipson, Moore, Mullins, Williams, Nichols, Goodman, and Gowin and probably Minor, Cole, Bean, and Moore. A Nichols family which had changed color classification held five slaves; a Minor family, listed in 1840 as colored, included two white children under five years of age.

(31) Hawkins County Deed Book X, 204.

The names of Freeman and Barnett appear among the white population, but not in evident association with the Melungeons. Delp families, both white and colored, are listed.

By 1850 Hancock County had separated from Hawkins. The census of that year lists 94 families (92 in one of the two subdivisions) who may have been Melungeons so far as their names are concerned; 68 of them are listed in groups characterized by two or more Melungeon surnames. Those not in such groups could be people of other strains bearing the same names; hence they are not included in the data in Table 13 bearing on the state of birth of family heads and others of interest in Melungeon groups. No one listed was born in Tennessee before 1799 and most of those born in North Carolina were over 40 years of age; there is some evidence, however, of recent contact with North Carolina. One Gipson wife, 70 years of age, was born in South Carolina, and three Bolin and Mullins women between 25 and 30 were born in Kentucky. Virginia appears to be an important source of members of some families, evidently pre-dating their arrival in Tennessee. The data do not indicate a single origin or a single migration in the forming of this Melungeon colony.

Not shown in the table are three members of the Denham family, a name usually listed with the Melungeons; these people were not grouped significantly with the Melungeons; the oldest, a woman of 56, was born in North Carolina, two others in their 30's, in Tennessee. Two Moores, also not

Table 13

Number of Family Heads (and Others of Significance) among Hancock County Melungeons in 1850 by Surname and State of Birth.

Figures in parentheses relate to the ages of the persons concerned.

Name	Number born in: Tennessee	Virginia	North Carolina
Bolin	1 (30)	2 (over 50)	
Bunch			1 (80)
Collins	14 (oldest 50)	3 (oldest 77)	4 (25-86)
Delp		3 (23-45)	
Gipson	13 (oldest 41)	5 (44-59)	3 (55-70)
Goodman	2 (46-49)		
Gowins		1 (34)	3 (35-48)
Minor		1 (52)	1 (42)
Mullins	5 (oldest 44)		
Sexton		1 (47)	
Williams	1 (29)		2 (35-66)

grouped significantly with the Melungeons, were born in Tennessee (ages 27 and 44). A Bolton in the same class (30 years old) was born in Virginia. Two women of the Bunch family (50 and 79) were born in Virginia; they were living near the Melungeons. It seems that, if all these families are considered as Melungeons today, some have not necessarily been considered at any time as free persons of color, and some have married into the group after settling in Hancock County.

Sixty-two of the 94 heads of families are listed as farmers; eight list no occupation, and the others include carpenter, "hierd farmer," cake-baker, "chir maker," cooper, "sinister," miller, weaver, "sewing," blacksmith, "shoumaker," renter, tailor, "slaymaker," "hammerman," spinster, and "widdow."

The 1860 and 1870 censuses do not add much to our basic information. There were 99 families of names already discussed in 1860 while there were 119 in 1870. In 1860 over half of these were concentrated in the Moore district (one of 14), but four of the 14 or more new (?) districts in 1870 had between 13 and 32 families each; but in each case some of the group were found in every district. Beginning with 1850, the free colored people were classified as black and mulatto; in these later censuses the mulatto classification creeps back into the Melungeon ranks, including, in 1870, 6 Gibsons, 8 Collinses, 3 Bells (out of the 4), and 2 Denhams, along with one each from the families of Mullins, Bowlins, Goins, Delp, Mosely, Williams, and Miser. The Bells and Misers show up for the first time; of

the adults of the former name 21- and 37-year-olds were born in Tennessee while ages of those born in North Carolina were 27, 53, 39, and 69. There is only one Sexton family, and no Freeman is shown. New occupations of 1860 include smoking, washerwoman, and spinning; a 50-year-old cake-baker of 1850 registered as a huckster in 1870.

The 1880 census initiated the practice of recording the birthplace of each individual's parents, but too late to add much information, for a generation had passed since 1850, when birthplaces were first asked. In the 4th district of Hancock County people named Minor, Goins, and Anderson were originally recorded as Portuguese (under race rather than nativity), but the "W" for white was later written over this in crayon. A Minor and a Goins were working as servants for another family listed as mulatto in the 12th district. Isaiah Mullins, 65, pipemaker, reported that his father was born in England. A few other families were listed as mulattoes.

The only detailed attempt to trace the Melungeon line has been made by Dromgoole in two of the earliest articles mentioning the Melungeons (32). The articles are not documented and are written by a journalist who wanted to deliver a story; but she had access to the Melungeons at a time when persons were living who had known the original settlers in that region. Her general notion that Melungeons were widespread in Tennessee, but had died out in the central and western parts, leaving

(32) Dromgoole, op.cit., and "The Malungeon Tree and its Four Branches," The Arena, III (1891), 745-51.

survivors only in eastern Tennessee (33), is without support. Vardy Collins and Buck Gibson were said to have settled here before 1797 after obtaining some money in a fraudulent transaction wherein one of them, disguised as a negro, was sold as a slave by the other; both were thought to be Cherokee Indian; the slave soon managed to disappear (34). Vardy Collins was said to have taken Newman's Ridge, though present tradition locates him on Blackwater, where a hamlet has been named for him (Vardy Springs). The Collins family is supposed to have broken up into clans; e.g., the descendants of Solomon Collins were the Sols (35). The father's Christian name served as the middle name for all his children; Sol Collins's son George would be known as George Sol (36) (this practice seems to be useful when a family is so numerous locally that the surname loses distinguishing value) (pp. 91 and 280). An English trader named Mullins is said to have married a Collins, thus founding a new tribe (37) (p.174). The negro element is said to have entered through a Goins of Sycamore Creek who married into the group (38). Converse (39), who visited the area in 1912, found the negroid element concentrated on Sycamore. Finally, a Portuguese named Denham (who is supposed to have reached the region in some one of the several ways suggested) married a Collins, thus completing the mixture (40) (census

(33) Ibid., 473.
(34) Ibid., 745.
(35) Ibid., 746.
(36) Ibid., 476.
(37) Ibid., 746.
(38) Ibid., 749.
(39) Personal communication, Jan. 20, 1949.
(40) Dromgoole, op.cit., 750.

and other records give the Denhams the usual pioneer background). The details of this story sometimes jibe with census information; at other times they seem to lack support. I generally agree with Dromgoole in that the evidence is in favor of a diverse origin for the Melungeons. In the case of the Collins family specifically, however, it seems evident that they cannot all be traced back to Vardy as ancestor, though he may well have been the leader in settlement.

Another item repeated by Dromgoole and others is that the Melungeons were deprived of the right to vote in 1834. It is true that the Tennessee Constitution of that year forbade free colored persons to vote; it has already been shown that the census put the Melungeons in that class in 1830, but classed most of them as white in later years. Before 1834 the free negroes were allowed to vote in Tennessee; Caldwell (41) states that this privilege attracted free negroes from North Carolina and other states in such numbers that the action of 1834 was taken by the state as a protective measure. Perhaps some of the Melungeons, whatever their actual race, were likewise attracted to Tennessee by this privilege.

Dromgoole's contemporary picture of the Melungeons is one of isolation, depravity, ignorance, and abject poverty. These conditions existed; that any were complete or universal is doubtful. She describes Newman's Ridge as covered by chinquapin and laurel thickets with apple orchards in the only clearings

(41) Op.cit., 148.

because nothing else would grow there; this is as unlikely as another writer's statement that the orchards and vineyards on the hillsides made Newman's Ridge look like southern Spain(42).

Oldtimers in the region consider the Melungeons to have been bushwhackers, preying on the supply trains of both armies during the Civil War. They are said to have justified this activity by calling themselves Unionists. East Tennessee had a large Unionist population, of course, and bushwhacking was an important activity in this region; it would be hard to prove, however, that it was confined to the Melungeons.

The cultural traits attributed to the Melungeons are all traits of the mountaineers. They may have survived in this backward area while they disappeared elsewhere; but no convincing evidence of Portuguese or other foreign culture has been demonstrated.* Their fare of corn bread, wild honey, and bitter coffee (46) was that of the land. Their sect of the Baptist church (still found there) was characteristic of the newly settled areas. And their old custom of building a low

*The word Goins could easily have been derived from the Portuguese Goes; but it is frequently spelled Gowans; and the latter like Gowing is reminiscent of the Irish (43). Also McMillan states that in North Carolina Goins has been derived from O'Guin (44). Attempts to derive Collins from Colinso (45) and Bell from Belinso are not very convincing.

(42) Clipping filed in Knoxville Public Library from Knoxville (?) paper of uncertain date, signed "A.J.F."
(43) Henry Barber, British Family Names (London: Elliot Stock, 1903), 154.
(44) Op.cit., 40.
(45) "The Melungeons," op. cit.
(46) Dromgoole, op. cit., 476.

shelter over a fresh grave (47) followed practices as old as the trans-Appalachian movement and still widely scattered (48).

It can be taken as definite that the Melungeon settlement was made early in the pioneer days and that their occupation of Newman's Ridge and Blackwater swamp was part of the first non-Indian settlement of the area. There seems to be no reason to believe, however, that they preceded the Watauga colony (1769), much less that they preceded (42) Daniel Boone's investigation of the country in 1760 (49). One of the earliest Tennessee colonies after Watauga was in Carter's Valley, north of Rogersville in Hawkins County, but about 40 miles from Vardy; it was the westernmost settlement in East Tennessee in 1776 (50).

Could the Melungeons have come in with the Watauga settlers and separated later? Apparently the core of the group did not; the key names of the early Melungeons are missing from the Watauga records accessible. Names of interest on a Watauga petition of 1776 (51) are Dunham (alternative of Denham in the Hawkins County records) and Williams; one of the leading founders of the Watauga colony and later of Bean's Station in Grainger County was Capt. William Bean (52); these three surnames are associated with the Melungeons, but they

(47) Ibid., 478.
(48) See, e.g., Willard Rouse Jillson's The Big Sandy Valley (Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton & Co., 1923), photograph opposite 142.
(49) J.G.M. Ramsey, The Annals of Tennessee (Charleston: John Russell, 1853), 68.
(50) Ibid., 144.
(51) Ibid., 138.
(52) Ibid., 94.

are not considered to be the earliest or most important.

The settlement of Hancock County apparently was deferred until after the Revolution. By 1764 a route into Kentucky by way of Bean's Station, across Clinch Mountain, and through Cumberland Gap (53) was frequented even by Virginians. This route presumably went some miles south of Vardy, but the settlement was probably closing in. The land between the Holston and an extension of the Virginia-Kentucky line was set aside as a North Carolina Military Reserve in 1780 (54). Some of the original Melungeons may have been soldiers of the Revolution, but we have no record of any such fact. At any rate the land was available for settlement; if Blackwater was not grabbed off until after 1790, it would hardly be surprising, for it was not the best land in the area.

The Melungeon strain in this region is certainly not so distinct as it is usually said to be and is probably not so distinct as it once was. But the strain and its reputation are not forgotten; the story will be passed on to future generations, and the possessors of Melungeon blood will be identified and marked by the die-hards. Here, as elsewhere, the older people say that the Indian blood doesn't show up in the new generation as it used to, that the people have changed by inter-marriage with others, or that the dark-skinned strain is "running out."

(53) Samuel Cole Williams, Tennessee During the Revolutionary War (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1904), 253.
(54) Paullin, op. cit., Plate 45B.

Grainger County

The 1830 census of Grainger County shows a total of 263 free persons of color of whom 24 families - 130 persons - seem to be Melungeons; their names are distributed as follows:

Name	Number of Families	Number of Persons	Number of Family Heads of Apparent Age Groups: 10-24	24-36	36-55	55-100
Collins	13	82	-	8	2	3
Goan	8	33	1	4	1	2
Bolen	3	15	-	2	-	1

(One other Collins family numbered two colored and six white persons.)

Grainger County is adjacent to Hancock on the southwest, but it is a few miles removed from Snake Hollow (to which Converse (55) refers as more recently settled than Blackwater), the closest part of the Hancock County Melungeon settlement. If these data are added to those of Table 12 for the Hancock County group, we find further evidence for the numbers of the Collins tribe; the probability of more than one Goins family among the original Melungeon settlers is indicated.

Of these 24 families, only three are recorded in Grainger County in 1840; one is found in Hawkins, and only seven other families of possible Melungeon affiliation are recognized in Grainger. Could these groups have found life unpleasant in an area dominated by non-Melungeons? The total number of free colored persons in Grainger County in 1840 was 134, most of the

(55) Op. cit., 62-3.

Melungeons being listed as white.

When the people are not living in groups which are reflected as successive names on the census schedules and when they are not identified as free colored persons, their identification as Melungeons is a little dangerous. A small number of them seems to have persisted in Grainger County, but none of the information provided by the census data changes materially the conclusions reached from Hancock County data.

A few Melungeons in Claiborne County are evident in the old records, but their number is not great.

Virginia

Melungeon names are found in Lee and other counties as early as 1820, but they are never clearly distinguished by color and are usually unsafe to use for present purposes. In 1870 a thoughtful census-taker in Lee County went beyond his call of duty in recording not only the state of birth, but also the county in which each person was born.

Forty-six families had Melungeon names without having other evident disqualifications; some of them undoubtedly were not connected with the Melungeons. Thirty of the families had one or more members born in Hancock County or Hawkins County. Eight of the families had members born in Scott County (including a Swiney - mulatto - who had two daughters born in Hancock). A Sexton was born in Letcher County, Kentucky, of parents born in Scott and Hancock Counties. The adults of a Goins family -

mulatto - were born in Surry and Ashe Counties, North Carolina (p.*86*). Their children were born in Knox, Hancock, and Grainger Counties, Tennessee. From these records strong evidence is at hand to confirm the assumed migrational connections among several different Melungeon groups; the indication of a relationship between the Goins families of the Melungeons and those of North Carolina is particularly interesting.

Hamilton, Marion, and Rhea Counties

The only free colored people with names of interest in this part of Tennessee are the members of the Goins family. In 1830 Hamilton County, which reported fewer than 400 families, already had four Gowan (Gowin) families; each of these families had colored members (13 total) and three of them had white members (6 total); all appeared on the same page, three of them in succession. The 1840 schedule showed 13 free colored families grouped together; Gowin was the name in eight cases with 53 persons. In 1850 there were 16 mulatto families named Goins (Goinz, Gowens); people as old as 50 were born in Tennessee; two members of the group were born in Virginia and one in North Carolina; these 16 families were more widely scattered than in previous censuses. The Goinses in Hamilton County were not listed as mulattoes after 1850. The name Bolden appears in the group in Hamilton County, possibly as a variant of Bolton, the name mentioned in Lewis Shepherd's account of the Melungeons (56). Also, the Rhea County census of 1860 lists a Boltin,

(56) See (5).

mulatto, 79, born in South Carolina. Other free mulattoes in Hamilton County did not bear known Melungeon names. Shepherd's attempt to trace the general Melungeon background to South Carolina is not supported by the data either here or in other Melungeon localities, though it seems that some individuals came from that state. We cannot determine from these data whether the Goins families of Hamilton County sprang from Newman's Ridge. The real settlement of Hamilton County took place after many of the group in the records were born. In view of their surnames, their color, and the tradition about them, it seems quite likely that they are a true offshoot of the Melungeons; further, the 1830 data indicate no likely Tennessee sources of such people outside of the Melungeon counties of northeastern Tennessee. (p.307). The possibility of tracing these movements by individuals' names in the early censuses is small, for only the heads of families were listed before 1850; and those who did the moving were often the grown sons whose names would appear for the first time in the new location.

Neither Marion nor Rhea County shows a record of the Goins family in censuses examined up to 1880. Since they have been known in these places as long as anyone there remembers, they must have come very shortly after 1880 if they were not there before. In Rhea County they have told welfare workers that they came there because they were excluded from the white schools in Hamilton County. This is an acceptable hypothesis explaining the shift which has evidently taken place.

Other Melungeon Locations

In 1830 Roane County had free colored families named Collins and Goans (one each). By 1850 the name Bazzell had shown up in three free mulatto families, each headed by a young man in his 20's (an authentic case of the three-brother story ?) claiming Tennessee nativity; this family continues in small numbers in the two following enumerations, but the other names characteristic of the present Bazeltown settlement are lacking.

In 1850, in the first district of Letcher County, appear 20 families named Collins, Gipson, Sexton, and Neace in a group of 33 successively enumerated. Most of the non-native members of this assemblage came from Virginia and North Carolina; all are listed as white. One of the other names, Breeding, indicates the probability that this district includes the present Breeding's Creek, residence of both Breedings and Melungeons today. By 1880 Letcher County had 72 families of the four names listed.

In 1830 the only free colored people of interest in Davidson County were located in the city of Nashville. By 1850 there were some members of the Barnes family in the northwestern part of the county, but they were missing in 1860 when the 25th district (presumably near the 24th mentioned above) had three mulatto families named Collins; in 1870 Collins, Niccans, and Barnes are all found. Listed as day laborers in 1860, they called themselves farmers in 1870. Most of them claim Tennessee backgrounds, but George Collins claimed to have been born in

North Carolina in 1794. Wilson County in the northeastern part of the Nashville Basin had a similar assemblage of names among its mulattoes in 1850; most of the members of the Collins family in this group were born in North Carolina, three men since 1800, the latest in 1820.

Other counties with early suggestions of Melungeon names are Carter, Cocke, and Campbell, all in Tennessee.

Melungeon Origins in Atlantic Coast States

Finally it may be worthwhile to examine for possible Melungeon origins the near-by states of the eastern seaboard: Virginia and the Carolinas. In the first place these states contain several mixed-blood groups of which the Melungeons might be an offshoot. In particular it is occasionally stated that the Melungeons have sprung from the Croatans of Robeson County, North Carolina; aside from the attractiveness of the idea, there is little evidence to support it, and the prominent Melungeon names are not found among the Croatan group (aside from the widespread Goins, which is rare among the Croatans). The same objections apply to the numerous groups of South Carolina with the exception of those including the name Goins (p.293). A study of the names of free colored persons (combining the two most conservative characteristics of these peoples), however, points to certain possible centers in North Carolina and, to a lesser extent, in Virginia, which may bear relation to the Melungeon group. Particularly suggestive are the following

assemblages of surnames among free negroes in 1830:

State	County	Names	Number of Families
N.C.	Ashe	Freeman	1
		Goen	3
		Collins	5
		All other	5
N.C.	Rockingham	Gibson	3
		Going	6
		Moore	1
N.C.	Surry	Going	5
Virginia	Patrick	Going	7

The evidence in the case of the Ashe County group is particularly strong. In 1790 Wilkes County (which then included Ashe), Morgan District, 10th Company, had 12 families (listed as white) five named Collins, six Gibson, and one Nicols, the last being listed next to a Gibson. In 1800 Ashe County had nine names of free negroes, six of which were identical with those in the 1790 list; four were named Collins, four Gibson, and one Delph (five others were not of interest). In 1850 only one family of Gowens was left of this group in Ashe County, nor were any in Watauga County, which had split off from it. Little doubt can exist that this group in the northwestern corner of North Carolina was related to the Melungeons; having been there in 1790, they likely preceded the Hancock County settlement.

We are tempted to examine individual names; in 1830 Ashe and Hawkins Counties each had a Levi Collins between 10 and 24 years of age, while Ashe and Grainger Counties each had a

Larkin Collins between 24 and 36 years; in 1850 Larkin Collins of Grainger County claimed to be 47 and Tennessee-born. The name Ezekiel Gibson turns up in 1790 in Ashe County as a single male over 16, in 1800 as head of a family of 3 in Floyd County, Kentucky, in 1810 as head of a family of 11 and over 45, and in 1820 in Scott County, Virginia as head of a family of eight. In 1820 persons (?) by the name of Zachariah Gibson are listed in Scott County, Virginia, as white and Floyd County, Kentucky, (near Valentine Collins) as free colored. Valentine Collins is found as head of a family of six in Ashe County in 1800, on the tax list for Hawkins County in 1810, and head of a family of 26 in Floyd County in 1820. Hardy Collins of Ashe County in 1790 may be the famous Vardy, or his name might have been given to Hardin Collins (Grainger County, 1830, between 24 and 36 years of age).

Rockingham County, North Carolina, is today the seat of a mixed group whose chief name is Goins and whose home here is known as Gointown (57). The census records of this county show a free negro family named Moor in 1800, no trace of the group in 1810, three Goings in 1820, and the list given above for 1830. In 1850, 16 mulatto families had the names indicated, most of them living in two localities. Eleven families were named Goings, four Gibson, and one Moore; the people were mostly

(57) Louise V. Nunn, A Comparison of the Social Situation of Two Isolated Indian Groups in Northern North Carolina, M.A. thesis, Columbia U., 1937 (information from W. H. Gilbert).

farmers and laborers, but included a shoemaker and a blacksmith. The oldest man in the group - 78 - was born in Virginia (not far away), the rest in North Carolina. In 1870 the group included 12 Goingses, two Gibsons, three Moores, and some local names. The group in Surry County does not appear in census records in years other than 1830 (and possibly 1840); interestingly there is a mixed group in Surry County today, but the most common name is reported to be Jenkins.

Many other Melungeon names are found occasionally among free negroes in the eastern states. Nickens, for example, was common in Virginia (58). In addition several common names among mixed groups in the Carolinas are found in the records in eastern Tennessee, sometimes in connection with people of Melungeon names. For example, Campbell County in 1850 contained among its mulattoes Dial from South Carolina along with Sweat, Chavis, and Collins from North Carolina.

The Melungeon names were also compared with the names found on the Cherokee reservation today. On this basis there is no reason to believe that the Melungeons are Cherokee Indians who left the tribe. The Melungeons were established long before the Cherokees were driven out and probably before they generally adopted English names.

Further possible connections of the Melungeons will be discussed when considering the other groups of the Appalachian and trans-Appalachian areas.

(58) Luther P. Jackson, "Virginia Negro Soldiers and Seamen in the American Revolution," Journal of Negro History, XXVII (July, 1942), 257-61.

Summary

The true racial background of the Melungeons cannot be determined. They were classed as free colored persons for a while, but most of the lines show no obvious negroid characteristics. The settlement of the Melungeons in Tennessee was certainly early in the colonization of western Hawkins County; the people moved westward with the stream. Their initial settlement in the area appears to have involved a major movement of at least a few related families and to have been supplemented by the immigration of new stock from time to time. The Melungeons were evidently recognized as a racially notable group before 1830.

This people multiplied rapidly both naturally and by accretion. Many emigrated to other areas in near-by counties and states, and certainly by 1830 they had clustered about leaders of the migrations in several other localities. Probably these movements were characterized by continual exchanges of people in both directions, members of the clan moving about where relatives welcomed them, after the fashion of many poor whites of the present. In each locality they have intermarried with other people of similar economic and educational level who in turn are grouped with the Melungeon in the mind of the insider; all have been held together internally by family ties and externally by discrimination on the part of others. Only their names, color, and reputation traced the movements of this population inclusion. The culture of the Melungeon is essentially

that of the mountaineer, but he easily fits into the lowland poor white niche if he leaves the mountains (actually the poor whites of the mountains and the lowlands are very much the same breed, but have developed under rather different conditions). Each locality has probably received some dark-skinned blood directly from the Atlantic States, but the weight of tradition and the lack of contradiction by facts indicates that most of these places have past connection with Newman's Ridge; the more distant Melungeons probably know nothing of Newman's Ridge; the closer ones probably visit the clan there as elsewhere. The present trend of the Melungeons is slowly toward assimilation with the whole population, but their numbers make this process slow.

A further study of Melungeon names is made in XII; on the basis of those data and the Virginia and North Carolina birthplaces of many of the Melungeons, I am inclined to believe that the chief Melungeon source area lies in the Virginia-North Carolina border counties of the Piedmont. Further study in this direction is strongly indicated; unfortunately the possibility did not develop until the archives were examined after the field work had been completed. The possibility that a general society of marginal mixed-bloods circulated in the southern Seaboard States, touching most of the Piedmont and Coastal Plain groups, and later forming the Melungeons on westward movement, cannot be rejected.

VII

MIXED-BLOODS AT CARMEL, OHIO, AND IN MAGOFFIN COUNTY, KENTUCKY

Carmel

The hamlet of Carmel in Highland County, Ohio is a small country cross-roads settlement based on a school, a church, and a country store. The country one traverses in approaching Carmel from Hillsboro is marked by gently rolling hills smoothed by Illinoian glacial material, contrasting only in the relief of the roll provided by the fore-Appalachian cuestas with the smoother till plains to the west. The farm land is fairly prosperous and is devoted to general farming with tobacco; the holdings are medium to large in size, and the two-story mid-western farmhouse is the rule. To the south and east of Carmel the terrain is of a different type; the bold hills of the Waverly cuesta (Fig. 33) form a discontinuous, wooded escarpment, marking the western edge of the Appalachian Plateau; the drift sheet comesto a rather abrupt termination, and the older topography is not smoothed; to the south the dissection by tributaries of the Ohio becomes deeper and deeper. It is probably not entirely accidental that the edge of the Appalachian Plateau has been settled by a mixed group.

The mixed breed of Carmel is identified by no distinguishing generic name. Local people refer to them as "the half-breeds" or "Carmel Indians" or "Carmel niggers." The question of negro blood has not had to be decided here as it would have to be in a Southern state. On the surface the claim of the

Fig. 33. The Waverly cuesta, western edge of the Appalachian Plateau. Carmel lies at the foot of the hills on the left.

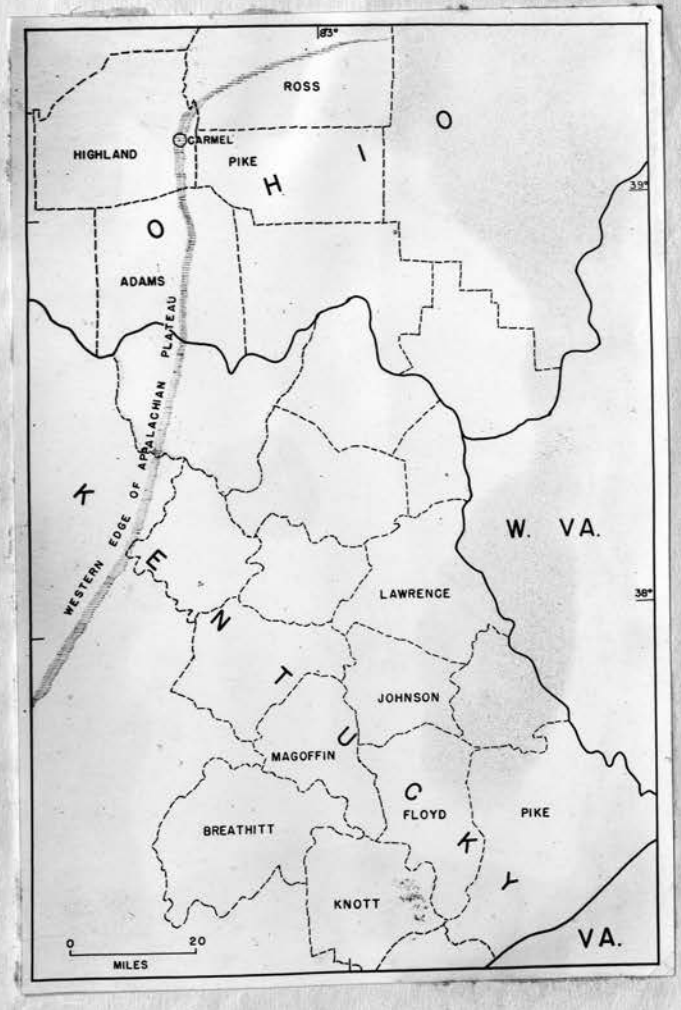


Fig. 34. Location map showing relationship of Carmel and Magoffin County.

half-breeds to Indian blood is good-naturedly accepted by the rural white people. Intellectually, however, the question of negro blood is usually raised. Most of the older residents think that some of each is present and can name families or individuals who they think illustrated each type in the days before they were so thoroughly mixed.

In appearance the group looks mixed; a few are nearly white, but most are easily recognized by their brown or tan skin, though only a few are as dark as gingerbread. Many of them have curly black hair, and many have straight black hair. Few really look like Indians, though identifying negro features are rare. It is my opinion that the degree of pigmentation in most of the people is inconsistent with the general lack of negroid features; hence it is considered likely that the Indian and negro mixtures are both present (Figs. 35-39). Many of the children have flat faces, somewhat narrowed in the lower part, with round noses.

The group surnames are almost without exception Gibson (Gipson), Nichols, and Perkins. One or two other names have recently been added to the group by marriage. Some of the Gipsons aver that the Gibsons have a trace of negro blood.

These half-breeds usually reside in the hilly part of the Carmel environs. They characteristically live in one-room shacks, some of which are chinked log cabins, some made of unpainted boards, and a few covered with brick-like asbestos

Fig. 35. The houses in this picture and in Fig. 37 are on directly opposite sides of the road and are occupied by closely related families.

Fig. 36. This Carmel family shows little, if any, of the dark-skinned strain; but they come from Magoffin County and are considered as part of the mixed group. Each girl holds a string of ginseng root.

Fig. 37. The light and dark types stand in striking contrast.

Fig. 38. Carmel family and house.

Fig. 39. Carmel family.

siding. A stove provides the space heat and the fire for cooking; there is usually a minimum of furniture, and the laundry is performed outside in a kettle over an open fire.

Some of these families live alone among white neighbors; others have congregated in groups of houses built in unfrequented hollows such as along "Pocahontas Row." A few of the "Carmelites" own the land on which their houses are erected; ownership of the land has come to them only in the last few years, however. Some are tenant farmers and live on the farm as a part of the tenancy. Traditionally, however, they have simply been squatters, taking advantage of the unused hill land and tolerated by the owners as long as they are considered useful to the community as a source of farm labor. Residence is often impermanent; the people move about and sometimes leave the Carmel area. During a period of their absence one landowner had a number of their shacks torn down because he no longer considered the occupants useful. Sometimes more than one family may reside in one of the little dwellings. The idea is frequently expressed that one never knows how many people he may find in a house on the next visit; relatives or migrants may drop in at any time.

Local report has it that fewer half-breeds are resident in the Carmel area than before the War. In the summer of 1947 there were at least 150; this number was determined by actual enumeration of their houses with the aid of a resident of the area who knew the people individually.

In addition to their sporadic employment on the Carmel farms, these half-breeds have supported themselves in several ways. In part this support has come from the hill lands where they hunt squirrels and ground-hogs (in season or out) for food, dig ginseng and yellow-root for sale to herb houses through the local stores, and obtain the timber for building their houses. Most of them keep chickens, which run in and out of the house freely in summer, and some keep pigs. Many of them cultivate small garden patches, and occasionally one may have the land for a corn crop. Petty theft, particularly of feed grains, is attributed to them. One family apparently not connected with the others has made a business of weaving and selling baskets.

The Carmelites are considered extremely shiftless by their neighbors. It is generally believed that nothing can be done for them which will permanently raise their low standards. One interviewed was planning to plant a crop of tobacco, but had only poor excuses for not having started it by mid-June. Another sore point is concerned with government and state aid received by the half-breeds; in particular mothers with children to support receive monthly payments, and it is very irritating to their neighbors to see these families continue to increase while the Aid to Dependent Children payments increase in proportion.

The Carmelites are sometimes superstitious; occasionally one of their number is believed to possess magic powers. They seem to have no well-defined folklore, however. They are said

to prefer to wear bright-colored clothes. They are occasionally put in jail for fighting, drunkenness, or other misconduct.

In cultural terms the Carmel Indians represent an intrusion of the Kentucky Mountains into the Middle West. The Ohioans, always sensitive to the infiltration of their communities by "Kentucky hill-billies," are quick to point out their differences in language - the prevalence of non-grammatical phrases and the use of old forms such as "holp" and "poke;" "hit" is common for "it," and "lamp oil" is the phrase for kerosene. The more industrious string their "shuck beans" on the porch to dry out and produce a supply of food for the winter. In their numerous progeny and in their general family relations they also correspond closely to the Ohioan's idea of Kentuckians.

These cultural peculiarities are not necessary for determining the source of the mixed-breeds, for they freely admit, and it is common knowledge in the community, that Magoffin County, Kentucky, is their original home. Many of the people now living in Carmel were born in Magoffin County, and they return there frequently for visits; some of them regularly plan to spend the winter in or near Salyersville. Reasons given for wintering in Kentucky are warmer weather, cheapness of fuel, whether wood or coal, and the geniality of the open fireplace. Others like to go back to Kentucky because of the friendliness of the people; "there are no strangers in Kentucky." Where reasons were offered for moving to Ohio, they were usually associated with better economic opportunities; one man found

work easier to obtain in Ohio; a woman thought a wage of fifty cents for a day's washing an adequate reason for leaving Salyersville (about 1940). Others variously liked or disliked Ohio living, but offered no reason for leaving Kentucky other than "taking a notion."

Sporadic exchange of residence is not between Carmel and Salyersville only, however. Employment opportunities have been developed near Urbana, Ohio, and in the Scioto Marsh onion fields (Hardin County). The agricultural work here is seasonal, and many of the migrants return to Carmel for part of the year. Residence at Carmel is of long enough duration to make it also a home to be sought at times of unemployment. Others work, apparently without intent or desire for permanent employment, on railroad gangs or in paper mills at Chillicothe.

This impression of an ambitionless existence is supported by direct observation of the people. Many of them, though apparently strong and healthy, show little energy or inclination to light muscular activity. The habit of sitting (usually indoors rather than on the porch) is evidence of inertia. Indeed, one should not be surprised, on announcing his presence at a house, to find that most of the occupants are passing the time reclining on such beds and couches as are available. Whether a physiological basis of malnutrition underlies this bent of this group of people is a question which may well apply to their neighbors of the mountain region generally as well as to many other poor people further south. Undoubtedly at any

given instant the lack of an incentive underlies the immobility.

Whatever the immediate motives of these migrants, it is evident that they have left in Magoffin County an area of little opportunity. Original settlement in Carmel must have been a matter of chance or of trial. As one individual or family found Carmel congenial, he probably told others about it. An increasing group of Magoffin County people found in the Carmel area an ecological niche which offered them the sources of support necessary for living; at the same time they interfered with no competitors for the place and stirred up no antagonisms violent enough to result in their ejection. Here the juxtaposition of reasonably good agricultural land and steep hill land replete with the hollows of an irregular boundary seems to have offered, in one location, farms prosperous enough to provide employment and a refuge for the residence locations; their shacks are sheltered from easy observation and from the winds of the open plains, off the farm land whose use the farmer would refuse, and accessible to building material, fuel, food, and a source of supplementary cash. And in recent years the Ohio welfare laws have been helpful. The farmer, for his part, gained a source of labor which would not only not demand high wages, but may not have even desired steady work. To be sure, these people have been independent and hence not always dependable, and some have exacted their toll in purloined grain, and they have not always been congenial neighbors. And on their side the Carmelites have not always felt that they were given

their fair share for their work and have resented their social position. The farmer who vows he'll have no more to do with the "shiftless lot" and the Indian who works a tobacco patch on shares, receives $1400 for his labor, and quits "because they cheated him" are only individuals involved in a general relationship that shows no special signs of breaking up.

Until these people become educated to a desire for better opportunities, the residence in the Carmel region is not likely to terminate. Though the Indians have acquired a few small farm plots, there is no reason to believe that they will take over the land as the Melungeons are doing at Dungannon. Farming is profitable in the region, and the farmer shows no tendency to abandon the better land.

Magoffin County

Investigation of Magoffin County as the source of the Carmel people soon disclosed that it too, with adjacent sections of Floyd County, is the center of a mixed group. A Kentucky historian stated that to his knowledge Magoffin County had the only such group in the state. (It is probably physically more conspicuous than the more numerous and more concentrated Melungeon outlier in Letcher and Knott Counties.)

Magoffin is a typical county of the Kentucky Mountains with little to distinguish it from many others. The county centers about the upper Licking River and some of its head tributaries (Fig. 40). Aside from a little bottom land in

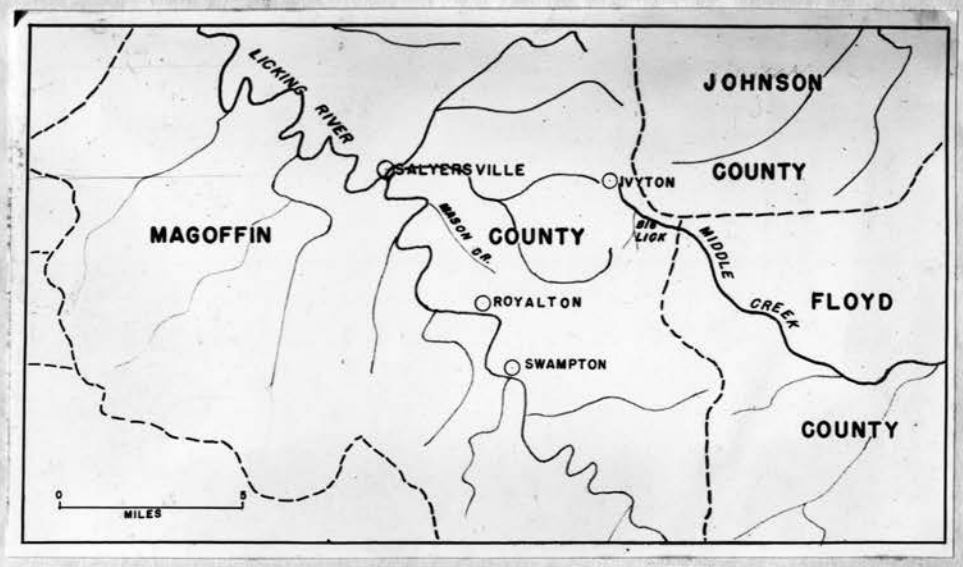


Fig. 40. Location map of Magoffin County area.

Fig. 41. Bottom corn land and formerly cleared slopes along upper Middle Creek in Floyd County.

the main valleys, the topography is mature with nearly all the land in slopes, the ridges reaching elevations around 1300 feet and most of the stream bottoms being at about 800 feet. The population is concentrated in the lowlands along the creeks and branches; some of the latter, even very narrow ones, cut back into the hills for many hundred feet in nearly straight courses without rising far above the mouth elevation. Most of the people live by farming in the valleys and on the lower slopes, little matter how steep. The upper slopes and ridge tops are mostly wooded. A few coal mines operate in the county, and some oil and gas wells have been drilled. The commercial, administrative, and educational (high school) needs of the county are fulfilled by Salyersville, the county seat (population 1254) and a few smaller settlements. As in most of the rest of the mountain area, negroes are almost entirely absent; the only negro family in the County is said to have moved away many years ago (though the 1940 census lists 28).

The mixed-bloods are more or less accepted without serious question as to origin or status. Many of them own farms, some of the well-known mountain variety (Fig. 41), others of somewhat better nature. In Magoffin County their ownership of sub-marginal land is traditional, whereas in Carmel it is new. They are probably considered to be part Indian (though a few people prefer to make it negro), and they have been famous for their large families and ability to keep them going without apparent means of support; farm labor has also been a

characteristic occupation, and their supplemental work - hunting, digging roots, etc.-is reminiscent of the Carmel people. Indian blood is sometimes mentioned as the reason for these habits such as hunting, ridge farming, and keeping dogs. Marriage with white people is not unusual today.

Most of the people of this group who are recognizable today have straight black hair, rarely wavy. The suggestion of Indian blood is more easily accepted than is the case with any other group (Figs. 42 and 43). Light brown complexions which would probably not belong to white races are encountered; they suggest a reddish tinge rather than the flatter type of tan of some mixed peoples. A broad-based head with the jowls a little wider than the temples is another characteristic of some people of the Magoffin County group.

In view of the undeniable and almost complete derivation of the Carmel group from Magoffin County, two very curious differences between the two groups met my observation. The Magoffin County mixed-bloods show a smaller degree of pigmentation of skin, and their residence in the area is more dispersed. The possible explanations of these differences will be considered in the later attempt to interpret the origins of the two groups.

There are perhaps 200 of the mixed-bloods in Magoffin County today. They are generally considered to be fewer in number and less Indian-like in appearance than in the earlier days recalled by old-timers. The Carmel names, Nichols, Perkins, and Gibson, are considered to belong exclusively to the

mixed group in this area; another prominent name in this classification is Cole. Other names are Hale, Harmon, and Barnett, and a few of the Collins families in the County are said to be mixed.

Only one real concentration of mixed-bloods exists in the area; this is in the Big Lick, a branch of Middle Creek, and on near-by portions of Middle Creek, a tributary of the Big Sandy, partly in Floyd County; this area was dominated by the Cole family and is still referred to in Magoffin County as the "Cole Nation." Though only half a dozen families live in the Big Lick now, the 1915 topographic map shows 16 houses in addition to the school (1). The one-room school yet operates, with 23 pupils at the beginning of 1946-47, over half of whom live in the Big Lick. Most of the present residents of the Big Lick are Coles and Perkinses.

A former teacher in the school who now resides at a near-by village (not over two miles away) looked on the people in the Big Lick more or less as a class of people rather than a racial group, though she recognized the dark skin of some of the people. She expressed amazement at their peculiar speech ("larn" for teach, "holp" for help, etc.). In 1925 the school had 68 students, some grown, but none advanced beyond the third grade. Within the last 40 years the people have been converted to the Holiness sect, which has erected a church at the mouth of the Big Lick. A terrifying demonstration similar to the religious fits said to characterize Holiness services was once

(1) U.S.G.S. Topographic Sheet, Prestonsburg., 1915.

staged at the school during a thunderstorm.

The people in the Big Lick agree that most of the old residents are gone. Two or three old couples live on pensions or with their children. One of the old men said his grandfather had come there from Tennessee. A younger farmer had been born in Oklahoma and had brought his family back to this site. The houses are generally two-room cabins, very poor, but nearly always kept very clean. The living obtained from the land is very meagre, even with the present reduced population. Sweet and Irish potatoes and corn are the chief crops. The Irish potatoes are stored in a hole dug in the ground and covered with dirt or boards. There being no mill in the neighborhood, the corn is all fed to animals. Some families keep bees, some of the hives being made of hollow logs. The unsatisfactory honey yield in 1947 was blamed variously on the wet weather and on the cutting out of the tulip poplars. Small timber is cut for mine props, and locally out-cropping coal seams provide a source of fuel, now usually burned in stoves.

Some say that the Coles and Perkinses were localized in this part of the County while the Gibsons and Nicholses lived more on Mason Creek. It hardly seems that the two groups have been so separate in view of their co-residence at Carmel today; one of the Gibsons at Carmel also mentioned Middle Creek as a familiar haunt. There are scattered residences of mixed-blood peoples on Mason Creek. Discussion with these people revealed knowledge of relatives in Ohio near Hillsboro and also north of

Urbana, though none seemed to be aware of the extent of the concentration in the Carmel area. Most of those to whom I spoke had relatives living in widely scattered parts of Magoffin County, and some of them had lived in several places themselves. A person not a member of the group spoke of their returning from the onion marshes in the winter; apparently the migration for employment made by the Carmel people is shared by the parent group.

Many of these people are still living in their old manner. Their old traditions of hunting, with dogs as their constant companions, and of digging ginseng and yellow-root are in good part shattered by the depletion of the resources on which they were dependent.

History of the Carmel-Magoffin Groups

If the Carmel mixed-bloods admit that they are racially unusual, they claim a Cherokee Indian background. Any claim of ancestral location before Magoffin County usually refers to "Old Virginia." The story told by the old white residents of Carmel is slightly different; it begins with the migration to the area of a Pugsley family from Virginia (about 1858) who brought with them slaves who became free. The slaves were said to have borne the name Nichols and to have remained as servants at the inn operated by the Pugsleys on the old coach road several miles south of Carmel. The Nichols children are supposed to have intermarried with the Perkins and Gibson

immigrants coming in later from Kentucky. The Perkins family, in particular, is credited with some real Indian blood. A county historian who has been interested in the backward peoples of the area thinks that some of the Shawnee Indians surviving in the area have only recently mixed with some of the part-negro peoples from Kentucky to produce the present group (2).

The census records support neither of the last two accounts. A Pugsley family was listed in Brush Creek Township by 1840, and the state of birth of its members is listed as New York (though Virginia could have been an intermediate residence); the townships where the half-breeds live today contained only a very few mulattoes or negroes up to and including 1860, and none of them bore the names of present interest. In 1870 several families of mulattoes are listed for Brush Creek Township; a Perkins, a Nichols, and three Gipsons generally show Kentucky birth, though Tennessee and Virginia are each represented by one family head. Some wives and younger members of the families (up to 11 years old) were born in Ohio. The families were not listed consecutively. Other mulatto and negro families in the township usually came from Virginia. The men were all listed as farm laborers. In 1880 the count of these families was: Nichols 10, Perkins 2, Gibson 1; the origin of the family heads was uniformly listed as Kentucky.

(2) Violet Morgan, Folklore of Highland County (Greenfield, Ohio: Greenfield Printing and Publishing Co., 1946), 28-30.

As a matter of interest, the census of 1890 recorded more Indians resident in Highland County than in any other Ohio county (3); the number was 22, and all were in Brush Creek Township.

Between 1900 and 1946, 46 marriages involving persons from the Carmel group, as identified by name (or name of parents) and residence or birth in Carmel or Magoffin County, were recorded at Hillsboro. Twenty-four of these marriages involved two persons from this group, the other 22 only one. Although not found among the group at Carmel now, the names Cole and Collins both crop up among the parents of the parties to the marriages. Over a third of the parties to these marriages were unable to sign their names. This information is summarized in Tables 14 and 15.

It is generally believed that the Carmel people never troubled to legalize their marriages before 1900 and that some of them may not have been registered after that date, certainly not before the relationship was recognized. The tables, to the extent that they are accurate, show the tendency toward endogamy as restricted to the major names for the 1900-1946 generation at Carmel and for the generation of their parents who were usually born in Kentucky. Since brothers and sisters were involved in some of the (different) marriages, the parents in the first table were sometimes duplicated. Of the 15 Nicholses

(3) Eleventh Census of the United States, Report on Indians Taxed and Indians not Taxed in the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), 527.

Table 14

Number of Carmel Mixed-Bloods Identified as Parties to Highland County Marriages between 1900 and 1946, by Name of Party and Parental Name

Original surname of parent for whom not named (usually mother)	Name of Party to Marriage					
	Gibson	Perkins	Nichols	Cole	Collins	Other
Gibson	1	1	4	-	-	-
Perkins	-	-	15	-	-	-
Nichols	8	-	5	-	-	-
Cole	6	1	-	-	1	-
Collins	1	-	2	1	-	-
Hale	1	-	-	-	-	1
Harmon	2	1	-	-	-	-
Barnett	-	-	-	-	-	1
Other	7	1	6	1	-	- (4)

Table 15

Number of Carmel Mixed-Bloods Identified as Parties to Highland County Marriages between 1900 and 1946, by Names of Bride and Groom.

Male	Female			
	Gibson	Perkins	Nichols	Other
Gibson	3	-	3	5
Perkins	1	-	1	-
Nichols	4	1	6	8
Other	5	1	7	- (4)

(4) Based on marriage records obtained from name index in Highland County Courthouse, Hillsboro, Ohio.

whose mothers were Perkinses, eight sprang from one couple and four from another. The six Gibsons whose mothers were Coles were evenly divided in two families. Three Nicholses reported thesame mother who was born a Nichols, and two reported as mother the same woman of one of the "other" names.

Thus the Carmel people are derived almost wholly from Magoffin County, having started to migrate about the time of the Civil War. Over two-thirds of those who have registered marriages in Hillsboro since 1900 have united with other people whose ancestry is associated with the Magoffin County mixed group.

Some of the Magoffin County mixed-bloods also claim Cherokee Indian ancestry. A 79-year-old woman (née Cole) who looked the Indian part (Fig. 42), though not the three-fourths blood she claimed, said her grandfather had been born in North Carolina, fought in the "War of '12, the Indian War" at the age of 14, got lost, and wandered to Kentucky. A Gibson man about the same age also claimed to be part Cherokee; he said his father had come to Magoffin County from Old Virginia long before and had died at the age of 104 about 50 years ago. One of the Coles in the Big Lick, 75 years old, said that his grandfather had come there from Tennessee, but could provide no further family history. People in Salyersville are inclined to credit the Cherokee story and can carry the residence of the Coles and other families back about a hundred years from information obtained from their grandparents. A current resident

claims to remember the day when Squire Gibson, a big dark man with straight black hair, lived in Magoffin County with three wives, two of them white; Squire Gibson's progeny by these wives is said to have numbered 28.

Floyd County (which once included most of Magoffin) has census records which point to a rather early residence of the ancestors of the present Magoffin County group, though the names found in Magoffin County may be invalid for the larger area. The 1810 census listed as white families named Collins (1), Gibson (2), Hale (2), Perkins (1), Nickles (3). Two of the same families, however, (Collins and Perkins) are listed as free colored in the census of 1820 along with several others of the same surnames - Gibson (2), Collins (2), Perkins (1). The Cole family first appears in 1840 when it was recorded as white, but it was listed as mulatto in the following censuses, a summary of which appears in Table 16.

These records indicate a population increase. In addition they provide a partial answer to the question: could people regarded as Indian or part Indian have been listed as free colored or mulatto because of a lack of official classification for Indians not living as untaxed wards of the government? In some of these cases the census-takers appear to have exercised the choice of calling some people Indians and others mulattoes. In 1860, 1870, and 1880 the census specified Indian as a regular racial classification.

Perhaps these racial distinctions played a part in the

Table 16

Number of Families of Selected Characteristics Reported in Magoffin and Adjacent Counties in Given Censuses.

1850	Family	Origin
	Floyd County	
	Hale, mulatto	Ky.
	Gibson, 2 mulatto	Va., Tenn.
	Gipson, white	Va.
	Cole, mulatto	Va.
	Perkins, white	Ky.
	Nichols, white	Va. (with 3 Coles in the family)
	Moore, 2 mulatto	N.C.(one residing with Hale) one wife from Tenn.
	Mosley, mulatto	Tenn.
1860		
	Floyd County	
	Collins, 2 white	Tenn.
	Gipson, white	Ky.
	Magoffin County	
	Cole, 5 mulatto	N.C., Ky. (one wife from Tenn.)
	Brown, Indian	
	Cole, 3 white	
	Perkins, 3 mulatto	Ky. (one wife from Va.)
	Stamp, Indian	
	Nickell, mulatto	Tenn.
	Pike County	
	Collins, mulatto	
	Johnson County	
	Collins, white	
	Gipson, white	
1870		
	Floyd County	
	Cole, 2 mulatto	Ky. (one wife from Tenn.)
	Moore, 8 mulatto	N.C., Ky., Va.
	Mosley, mulatto	Tenn.
	Gipson, mulatto	Tenn. (Boldin, mulatto in the household)

Table 16 (Cont.)

Magoffin County		
Nickle, 5 mulatto	Ky., Tenn.	(McCarty, mulatto domestic servant in house)
Cole, 7 mulatto	Ky., Va.	(as old as 50 born in Ky.
Perkins, mulatto		
Gipson, 2 mulatto	Va., Ky.	(Harmon, mulatto as domestic servant)
Pike County		

Johnson County		
Collins, 7 Indian	Tenn., Va., Ky.	(listed as white in 1860)
Hale, mulatto	Va.	
Dale, 2 Indian	Va., Ky.	

1880

Magoffin County
Nickles, Perkins, Cole, and Gipson listed as white except in one precinct where Cole and Nickles were listed as mulatto.

selection of the Magoffin County emigrants to the Carmel area. The people with negroid appearance may have obtained fewer opportunities and have been excluded in favor of the others in the inheritance of property. With employment scarce in Magoffin County, many joined the general northward movement of Kentuckians to provide Ohio and other northern border states with a native supply of cheap labor. Carmel became both a new home and a way station on this trek to the onion marshes. The ecological niche which it offered them was probably found by some family on the way to some locality where work was offered. The tendency of the group to follow the leader and their desire to live near their own kind probably explain the concentration around Carmel. Other localities along the edge of the Appalachian Plateau would probably offer the same advantages as presented above for Carmel. Another possible explanation for the darker nature of the Carmel settlement may be marriage with negroes or mulattoes after leaving Salyersville, where the opportunity for finding such mates is slight.

Magoffin County marriage records repeatedly reveal the names of the mixed group. Though in-marriage was frequent, it was by no means universal. The in-marriage rate was very high for the parents of Carmel people registering marriages at Hillsboro.

The internal data obtained from the census point to the Southeast - Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina - as the source of these mixed-bloods. The records suggest as a reasonable

possibility that the Magoffin County group is closely related to the Melungeons. The case for this connection is herewith presented.

Only the name Gibson is frequent among both the Carmel-Magoffin people and the Melungeons. That a general overlapping of names, nearly continuously distributed between the Melungeon and Magoffin areas, has existed is shown by the lists of Table 17.

All of the names recognized as belonging to the mixed people in Magoffin County are either recognized Melungeon names or names of free colored people or mulattoes who appear to have lived at one time in association with Melungeon groups. In addition one Melungeon name (Moore) was historically associated with mulattoes in Floyd County; and one name which is associated with Indian blood in Knott County, Ky., (Moseley) is historically associated with both Melungeon and Floyd County areas. The counties containing these people who are identified both by name and by census indication of color form a chain which is continuous between the two home areas involved. The people identified as mixed-bloods make up most or all of the free colored, mulatto, and Indian population reported for these areas for the years indicated. In particular in the counties where the Melungeon names predominate in the free colored population the very few other names of free colored people contain several examples which are identical with the Magoffin County names. It is not necessarily suggested here that most of the Magoffin

Table 17

A. Names of Melungeons and Magoffin County Mixed-Bloods.

Recognized Melungeon names today:	Recognized names in Magoffin County group today:
Collins	Gibson
Mullins	Perkins
Gibson	Nichols
Moore	Cole
Minor	Collins
Delph	Hale
Williams	Harmon
Barnett (?)	Barnett
Goins	
Freeman	
Sexton	
Bolen	
Bell	
Mize	

B. Selected Census Data on Families Bearing Names Common among the Melungeons and Magoffin County Mixed-Bloods.

1790

Wilkes County, N.C. (Ashe County)
Nichols, free colored (immediately following a Gibson in the enumeration)

1830

Hawkins County, Tenn.
Hale, 2 free colored (a local historian said that they were freed slaves; 2 Hale families in the County owned slaves)
Cola, free colored
Moseley, 2 free colored
Campbell County, Tenn.
Perkins, free colored
Claiborne County, Tenn.
Cole, free colored (also other free colored people with Melungeon names)
Pike County, Ky.
Mosley, free colored
Gipson, 2 mixed white and free colored consecutive

1840

Cocke County, Tenn.
Nichols, 5 free colored (County known to have been a Melungeon habitat, though names do not appear in census records)

Table 17 (Cont.)

1850		
Floyd County, Ky.	Origin	
Moore, 2 mulatto	N.C.	
Mosley, mulatto	Tenn.	
Letcher County, Kentucky		
Nicholas, mulatto	Tenn.	(listed in same district as white persons presumed to be Melungeons)
Moore, mulatto		(in same group)
1860		
Pike County, Kentucky		
Collins, mulatto		
Letcher County, Kentucky		
Perkins, mulatto	Tenn.	
Harlan County, Kentucky		
Cole, Indian	Va.	
Knox County, Kentucky		
Harmon, mulatto		
Goins, mulatto		
Goings, mulatto		
1870		
Floyd County, Kentucky		
Moore, 8 mulatto	N.C., Ky., Va.	
Mosley, mulatto		
1947		
Floyd and Knott Counties, Kentucky		
Mosleys considered as part Indian		

County group is descended from Newman's Ridge emigrants; there may rather have been a mixed-blood society, scattered through the area, whose members frequently moved from place to place. The evidence that the Melungeon colonies outside of Hancock County were partially from the Seaboard States applies also to the groups in the counties around Magoffin; the details of movements cannot be reconstructed from our data (since individuals are usually not traced), but the data are not consistent with a single center of dispersal from Newman's Ridge.

A few data concerning individuals are available which seem to add to the weight of the conclusions given above. A marriage of record in Magoffin County involved Henderson Gipson, born in Knox County, Tennessee, and Milly Matthews in 1862 (5). The 1870 census records this couple in Brush Creek Township (Carmel) as mulattoes; they were living in the same house as an older Matthews couple (and family) who also claimed Tennessee birth; the Matthews children, including Milly, 29, all claimed Tennessee birth. The 1850 census lists a Squire Gipson (25 years old, mulatto, born in Tennessee) living with a Nicholas couple in Letcher County; in Floyd County it lists a Squire Gibson (23 years old, mulatto, born in Virginia), living with his father (Brison) and mother, several presumed brothers and sisters, and a contemporary named Francy. The Floyd County records contain information about the marriage of Brison Gibson's son Squire to Francis Nichols in 1843 (6). The Magoffin County

(5) Marriage bonds, Magoffin County Courthouse, Salyersville.
(6) Marriage bonds, Floyd County Courthouse, Prestonsburg.

census for 1870 lists a Squire Gipson (45 years old, mulatto, born in Kentucky) as head of a household of 15 including a wife Perlina, 28, eight children named Gipson and three named Fletcher, and two domestic servants named Harman. Is it not possible that these references and the one on page 207 all consider the same Squire Gibson? If so, then we have another link between the Letcher Melungeons and the Magoffin group. The first names of this mountain group were found recurrently; the last names with which we have been dealing are also common; hence the occurrence of identical names is no proof of the identity of relationship; the data on pages 186 and 187 partially involve Floyd County also, and they are suggestive.

Conclusion

What has probably been a northward movement of Melungeon peoples and their relatives has produced a concentration of mixed-bloods in Magoffin County, Kentucky, which, in its turn, has served as the jumping-off place for a move across the Ohio. The latter move has brought to Carmel a mixed-blood population entrained by the general emigration from Kentucky.

VIII

THE GUINEAS OF WEST VIRGINIA

A large mixed-blood group is situated in several counties of north-central West Virginia. These people are known as Guineas, and their only large concentrations are in parts of Barbour and Taylor Counties; only these were studied in the field. Others are said to be in Grant, Preston, Randolph, Tucker, Marion, Monongalia, and Braxton Counties (1).

A Guinea, as found in this area, may be defined as a person of mixed blood, presumably part negro, probably, though not necessarily, dark-skinned as compared with Europeans, and a member of one of several well recognized families with these same characteristics. The designation is inherited, though one can certainly marry into the group, and, should another mixed person settle in the area, he could soon qualify as a Guinea in the mind of the white resident. The Guinea is not clearly distinguished from the negro socially, for the reason that there have been almost no other colored people in this part of West Virginia until the recent coal-mining days.

The Setting

Barbour and Taylor Counties (Fig. 44) form part of the hill country of the dissected Appalachian Plateau. Typically the land is all in slopes, many of them steep, the degree of

(1) Gilbert, "Memorandum Concerning the Characteristics of the Larger Mixed-Blood Racial Islands of the Eastern United States," Social Forces, XXIV (May, 1946), 442.

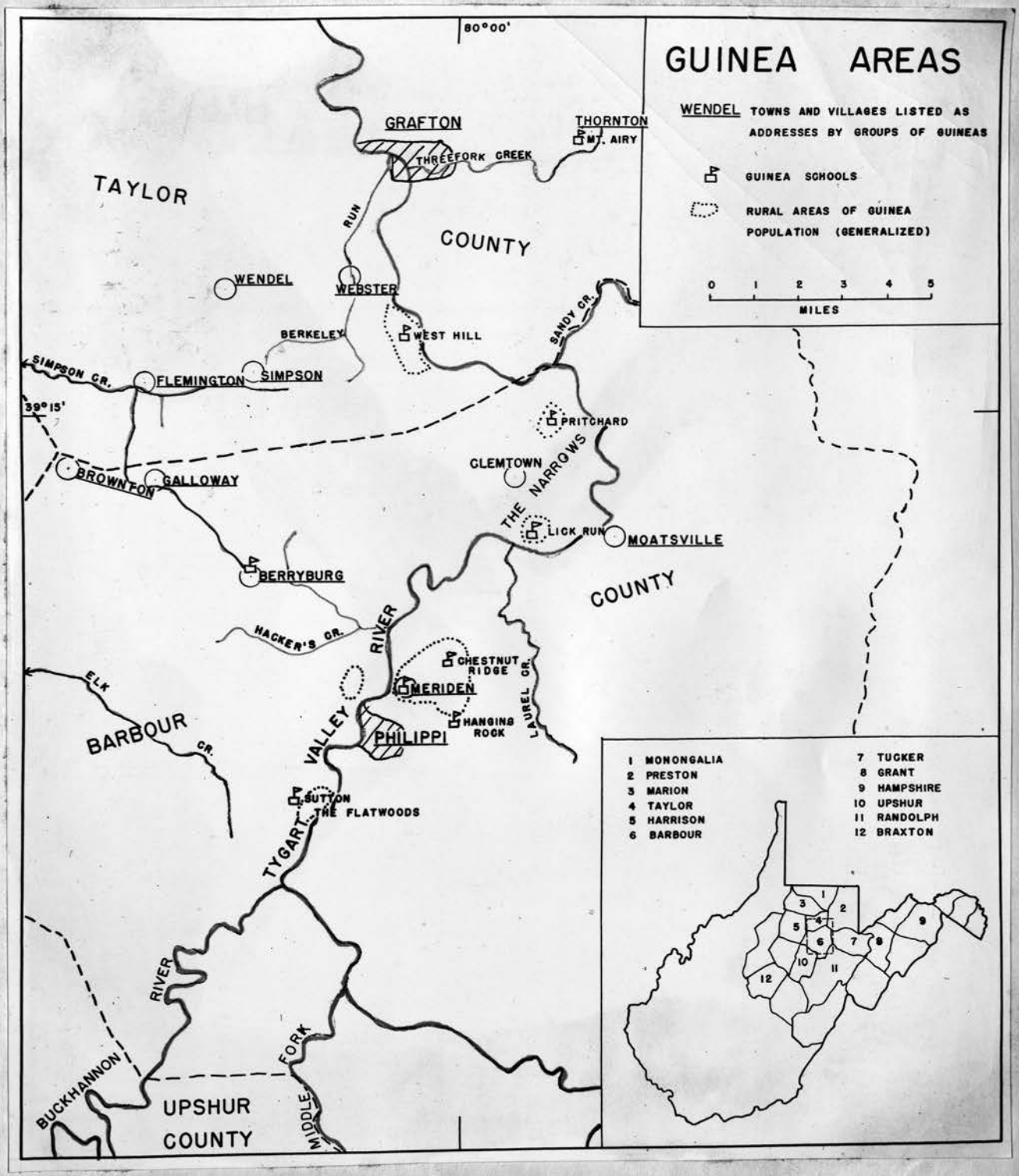

GUINEA AREAS
WENDEL TOWNS AND VILLAGES LISTED AS ADDRESSES BY GROUPS OF GUINEAS
GUINEA SCHOOLS
RURAL AREAS OF GUINEA POPULATION (GENERALIZED)
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES
80°00'
39°15'
GRAFTON
THORNTON
MT. AIRY
THREEFORK CREEK
TAYLOR
COUNTY
WEBSTER
WENDEL
BERKELEY
WEST HILL
SANDY CR.
SIMPSON CR.
FLEMINGTON
SIMPSON
PRITCHARD
GLEMTOWN
THE NARROWS
BROWNTON
GALLOWAY
LICK RUN
MOATSVILLE
BERRYBURG
HACKER'S CR.
CHESTNUT RIDGE
MERIDEN
HANGING ROCK
LAUREL CR.
ELK
BARBOUR CR.
PHILIPPI
SUTTON
THE FLATWOODS
TYGART VALLEY RIVER
BUCKHANNON RIVER
MIDDLE FORK
UPSHUR COUNTY
1 MONONGALIA
2 PRESTON
3 MARION
4 TAYLOR
5 HARRISON
6 BARBOUR
7 TUCKER
8 GRANT
9 HAMPSHIRE
10 UPSHUR
11 RANDOLPH
12 BRAXTON

Fig. 44.

steepness depending on the nearness of an actively eroding stream and on the rock material involved. Most stream valleys are narrow, and ridge tops are sharp. Slopes are occasionally interrupted by flats formed on stripped layers of resistant rocks. The Tygart Valley River, a major head tributary of the Monongahela, with bottom lands up to half a mile wide, takes a northward course through the center of the area. In other places, where the stream is cutting through resistant rock, the valley is narrow, the banks steep, and the flow rapid. Such is the great bend of the Tygart enclosing the "Narrows" toward the northern end of Barbour County (Fig. 45). A flood control dam above Grafton forms a lake which reaches the southern end of Taylor County.

A surprisingly high proportion of the hill land has been cleared, but most of it is safely maintained in pastures, the chief agricultural product of the region being beef. Coal-mining is important at several localities in the counties, and stripping is moving the brow of many a hill.

The two county seats, Grafton in Taylor, and Philippi in Barbour County, are the only important towns. Grafton is a division point on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Philippi serves chiefly its county. By West Virginia standards, it is a very "nice" town for residence, because of its lack of objectionable industries, its possession of an uncrowded, nearly flat residence neighborhood, and the fact that it is not dominated in numbers by mining or industrial workers.

Fig. 45. The Tygart Valley River and one bluff of its gorge through the "Narrows." Usually the river has a moderately wide flood plain.

Fig. 46. Guineas gathered about the bandstand on the courthouse square at Philippi.

The People and Their Activities

The major center of the Guinea population is the town of Philippi, with its near-by suburbs and immediately tributary rural area. The Guineas may be readily identified on the streets of Philippi at nearly any time. The appearance of the Guineas shows well their mixture, but is otherwise difficult to describe. Most of them could well come under the broader usage of the term mulatto; as an average the Guinea complexion is probably lighter than the usual mulatto. Negroid characteristics are frequently found. The hair is commonly dark and curly but is seldom kinky. Dark brown or black skin is almost absent; many Guineas would have no trouble passing as white if not known. The majority, on the other hand, would not be markedly conspicuous in a colored group in a northern city. A few of the light-skinned individuals have retained many negroid characteristics, and present the often peculiar appearance of such combinations. There is no clear evidence of Indian or other racial strain among the group. Deformities occur, , though not very frequently; nevertheless their number may be increased by inbreeding.

The surnames common among the Guineas are Mayle (Male, etc), Croston, Kennedy, Newman, Dalton (Dorton), Parsons, Minor (Minard), Norris, and Collins in decreasing order of frequency; the Mayles make up nearly half the population, but no one family predominates among the rest. One or two names not listed occur occasionally; when other names are encountered

among the colored population, they usually represent recent additions to the group or colored people not associated with it. At times,-for example, when the question of color is a factor in a lawsuit - one branch of one of these presumed families may assert that it has no connection with another branch. The limited number of names in this group makes such a condition unlikely, and other evidence to be presented later is strongly against it.

The economic activities of the Guineas are diversified. Many of the families live on their own farms and obtain their income from the crops grown and the animals produced. Many are in part dependent on producing their own food. Most of their land, like most of the land in the region, is residual soil on hillsides. They possess little of the bottom land and probably none of the limestone hill land a few miles to the west, but, on the whole, the Guineas' hill land is neither better nor worse than that which belongs to other people in the vicinity.

Probably more Guineas are engaged in coal mining than in agriculture. This industry has grown in the last two generations and has absorbed much of the population increase. It has been responsible for drawing the Guineas to some of the mining towns, and some mines operate in areas previously populated by the Guineas. Guineas have always been used extensively for farm labor. Some of them work as domestic

servants. Moonshining has been reported as important among them in the past in some of the more remote settlements, especially in the Narrows.

As a whole, the Guineas are poor people, though a few are well-to-do. Their houses range from the poorest of one-room shacks up to modest farmhouses, often not well kept. Many of the houses, which are nearly all wooden, have recently been covered with imitation brick siding.

The Guineas are generally considered as shiftless in economic matters, working only when they need money and saving little for future days.

Next to the Cajans of Alabama, the Guineas more nearly form a population island than any other large group studied in the field for this project. Actually they are far from forming an island, but most of them live in several distinct spots in the two counties where few other people live. With one exception, the spots which the Guineas occupy have been held by them for as long a period as residents of Barbour and Taylor Counties recall. This exception is a hilly area on the west side of the Tygart about three miles above Philippi known as the "flatwoods." It is off the good roads and has been taken over by the Guineas as its previous owners moved out. This process probably occurred also at West Hill in Taylor County, but so long ago that it has been forgotten. In Barbour County the Guineas have long resided at: Chestnut Ridge, a long spur

on the east side of the river near Philippi; Meriden, a coal-mining town adjacent to Philippi at the foot of Chestnut Ridge; two or three areas in the bend of the Tygart; a smaller area in the hills on the west side of the river immediately northwest of Philippi. Their residence in coal-mining towns such as Galloway and Berryburg is probably of recent date. In Taylor County many Guineas live in and near the town of Grafton. A larger concentration is found on West Hill, which is one of the traditional Guinea lands, between the highway and railroad on the west and the Tygart on the east. A small number is centered near the Mount Airy school on the east side of the river.

The settlement along Chestnut Ridge is strung out on both sides of the road for about two miles. The ridge has two or three churches, one of which is used as a school, and at least three cemeteries whose stones are marked exclusively with Guinea names. The houses are plain, but most of them show a degree of material comfort far above that of the poor mountaineers of other parts of the Appalachian Plateau. Some are or have been painted; some are covered with siding. Many of the residents of the Ridge work elsewhere, but most of the land, nominally at least, is in farms. Part of it is owned by one of the coal companies, most of the rest by individual Guineas. The land does not appear to be used to best advantage, however; many fields are not in cultivation; many of those in cultivation are not neatly kept.

Meriden, at the foot of the ridge near Phillippi, is an old mining center which is being re-opened. The old company buildings of two stories are crowded by occupancy by more than one family.

The other rural Guinea areas in Barbour County have less the air of segregated communities about them. Where the farmer owns his own land and can make a living, the family pride of such independence is likely to make a better community. Where the family is economically independent, the consciousness of an outcast status is not so great. These outlying groups do not flock so readily to the courthouse square on Saturdays or other occasions. Roads giving access to theseGuinea communities are usually poor, providing partial isolation. In the Narrows region the Guineas are lighter in color than elsewhere; they have been separated from the others a long time and, according to accounts, have not married back with them; instead they have mixed to some extent with whites in the area, and there is Guinea blood in some who pass as white.

The situation of the Guineas at West Hill is very similar to the better rural areas in Barbour County. West Hill is reached only by a narrow, rocky road. The community has a church or two and a school, but no concentrated settlement. The houses at West Hill tell a story, however; they are mostly frame houses of modest size, but many were once painted and exhibit ornamental wooden trimming which, while not attractive by modern standards, was evidently chosen by people who could

afford some luxury of good appearance. It seems quite unlikely that these houses were constructed by the Guineas; their original owners must have moved away as the Guineas gradually moved in or, as a laboring class, began to obtain land for themselves. Many of the Guineas on the lowlands had to move recently when the Tygart dam was built; some moved to Grafton and others emigrated to Middle Western cities.

As in the case of other groups, the one official measure of demarcation of the Guineas occurs in the public school system. The Guinea schools in Barbour County are listed by the county as colored though some of their teachers report them as white. Since the number of other negroes in the County is small, the distinction between white and colored is essentially a distinction between white and Guinea. Taylor County, with its concentration of negroes in Grafton, has a tri-racial school system. The Guinea schools are two in number, the larger being at West Hill, the smaller at Mt. Airy. Some of the Guineas are transported from Grafton to the West Hill school, but some children with Guinea names attend the colored school at Grafton.

This segregation in schools has not always been accepted peaceably by the Guineas. In Barbour County, on one opening day, Guinea children appeared at some of the white schools. The teachers ordered them to go to their own schools. Two or three of the Guinea schools were burned during the period of argument, presumably in the hope that there would then be no

alternative to attendance at the white schools. When the children were ordered to go to schools at churches or in other buildings, many parents kept their children out of school and were put in jail for this infraction of the law. The matter was never definitely settled in court, but the segregation was maintained. Persons familiar with the problem attribute the root of the trouble not to the mere fact of segregation, but to the fact that negroes were sometimes brought in to teach the Guinea schools in the absence of an adequate number of teachers among the Guineas themselves. The West Virginia law requires a segregation of negroes in schools, and it is generally considered that this local segregation is necessary to conform with the law. Guineas wishing to attend high school are transported to a colored school in an adjoining county, though a few trickle into the local school. They are admitted to Broaddus College, which is situated at Philippi, when they can qualify scholastically. Some of the Guineas sought entrance to a white school in the West Hill area in 1922; this case was actually brought to court (2), and the Guineas were forced to return to their own school.

The Guineas are also socially segregated in other ways. They are welcome at few places of business in Philippi, though segregation at the theatre is not so strictly enforced as it once was. But being unwelcome does not kill the urge to come to town, and the Guineas gather near the courthouse on Satur-

(2) Male vs. Board of Education and Dalton vs. Board of Education, 1922-3, Taylor County.

days, though the idlers of the group may be found there nearly any day. In the summer a bandstand at the side of the courthouse square forms a rallying point or headquarters for the Guineas in town (Fig. 46). During the winter the loafers collect and eat lunch in the hall of the courthouse.

It is said that some of the loafing around the courthouse is done in the hope of picking up points of law for future use. The Guineas come in for their share of trials for misdemeanors and crimes, and it has sometimes been virtually impossible to obtain testimony against them. The story is that they used to have their own trials on the Ridge beforehand; having determined the way of justice, the group sticks together in presenting their evidence. It is doubtful if all the Guinea groups participate in such a show of unity, but the different communities evidently are able to put up a united front.

The Guineas have also enjoyed some political prestige in the County because of their holding the balance of votes between the two national parties. The Guineas once favored the Republicans, but apparently were converted by the New Deal; since then their strategic influence has diminished. Buying of the Guineas' votes was long a standard practice; many of them counted on picking up a few extra dollars at each election.

The term Guinea is not openly applied to members of the group, who resent the standing accorded them. Changes in spelling of names are reportedly attempts to dissociate themselves from the stigmatized group. "Mayle" is a recent innovation, "Male"

or "Mail" being the older spelling in all records. Variations of Dalton and Minor may result from the same cause.

Within their own areas the social life of the Guineas is typical of many other rural areas. They have their own churches, usually Methodist, and several cemeteries located in the different communities. It has been observed that the Guineas always take care of their own needy and that no Guinea orphan goes to an institution. Until very recently an agricultural fair was held on Chestnut Ridge each year, but it was actually sponsored by the 4-H Club and cannot be credited to Guinea initiative.

A mail carrier reported that the Guineas used to run and hide from him when he first took up his duties.

Recent years have seen a considerable emigration of Guineas to places in other states; there has also been movement to and from other centers in West Virginia. School officials and others encourage the Guineas to leave, because opportunities are likely to be better where they can pass as white or where segregation laws are not in effect. The advantages of Ohio are well known to them, but undoubtedly the ties of home keep many of the Guineas from moving or bring them back after a time. They reportedly have gone in numbers, however, to Zanesville, Canton, Chillicothe, Detroit, and other cities. It is said locally that the lighter Guineas move away, leaving the darker behind. The military experience seems to have had little effect on the community; nearly all the boys returned and quickly worked their way back into community life. Most of them went into the army

as white, but they were assigned to units with other than Barbour County people.

Some intermarriage with Italians has occurred during recent years.

Statistical Study of the Guineas

Data are available for some statistical consideration of the Guineas; they are presented and analysed below. The general population data come from two sources: school enrollment records and voters' registration. Since school attendance is legally compulsory, it is reasonable to accept the former as nearly complete for children of early school years. The voters' registration lists are open to more serious question; people in Philippi insist that the Guineas are all very careful to register because of the importance they put on the opportunity to sell their votes; since, however, the number of males registered is 20% greater than the number of females, we are safe in assuming that registration is not complete and should be corrected by at least this difference. The adequacy of this procedure may be evaluated by comparison with the school data. The school data are taken for the schools classified as colored; they contain a few negroes, many of whom can be identified by name. The Guinea voters are identified by name; most of the common Guinea names are said not to be shared by other people in the county; of those that are shared by others, most were selected

with the advice of local people. It is believed that the error from themethod of identification of the Guineas is small in quantity and, except for one or two families, will be small in the family analysis too.

Population

From the data given, the total population can only be estimated from a consideration of the age pyramid (Fig. 47). In Table 18 the ages of voters are given as of their 1948 birthdays; the ages of the school children are given as of September 1, 1947 and December 31, 1947; these discrepancies can introduce no serious error here even if the population composition is systematically changing.

The figure of 1600 for the Guinea population of Barbour and Taylor Counties is a minimum; it may be increased by estimates of children not in school and men not registered to vote. The age distribution, as between adults and children, is reasonable for such a group; an apparent shortage of people in the early 20's is quite likely real and due to emigration of young adults. Table 19 compares the age distribution of the Guinea population with the totals for the State in 1940 and 1930. The Guinea age distribution is probably peculiar only in showing no deficiency of births during the 1930's and in showing the slight deficiency in young adults (presumably not entirely due to failure to register).

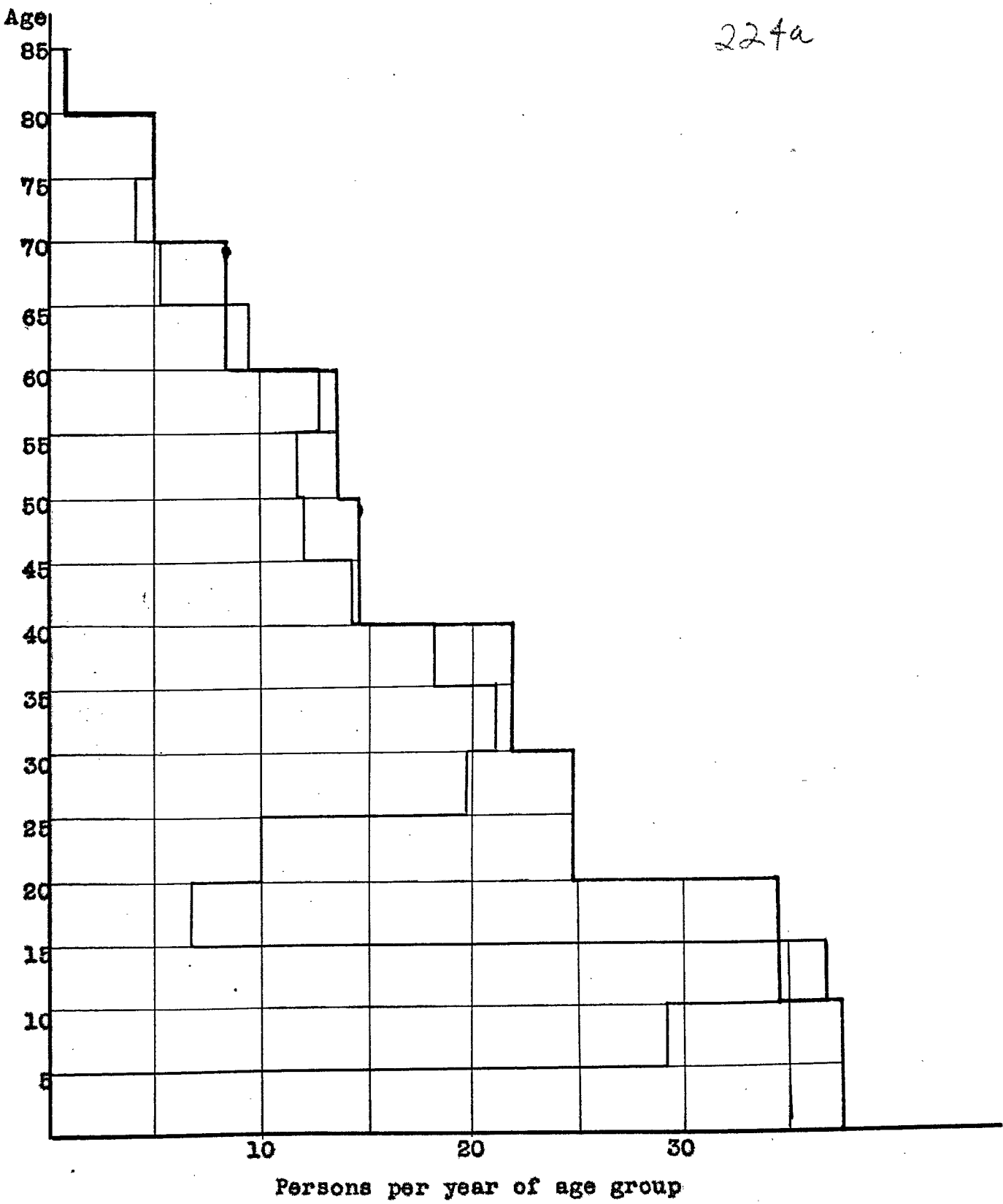


Fig. 47. Guinea population pyramid, 1947-8. Black line shows actual school and voters' registration; red line shows estimated total population.

Table 18

Number of Guineas by Age and Sex

Age	Male	Fem.	Total	Totals for 5-yr.* intervals	Totals for 10-yr.* intervals
0					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5			6	375	
6			26		
7			41	143	
8			37		
9			33		
10			46		
11			39		
12			31	185	
13			36		
14			33		
15			18	345	
16			2		
17			8	35	
18			5		
19			2		
20					
21	9	7	16		
22	4	1	5	56	
23	6	6	12		
24	9	10	19		
25	10	6	16	244	
26	9	11	20		
27	12	9	21	107	
28	10	12	22		
29	11	7	18		
30	17	16	33		
31	12	9	21		
32	10	10	20	118	
33	10	6	16		
34	11	6	17		
35	14	7	21	217	
36	15	11	26		
37	3	7	10	99	
38	9	8	17		
39	9	7	16		
40	6	11	17		
41	5	6	11		
42	10	6	16	79	
43	10	6	16		
44	8	4	12		
45	9	5	14	146	
46	6	5	11		
47	3	6	9	67	
48	7	7	14		
49	5	8	13		
50	7	6	13		
51	9	8	17		
52	6	3	9	66	
53	6	2	8		
54	7	6	13		
55	5	4	9		137
56	6	8	14		
57	7	6	13	71	
58	7	10	17		
59	7	5	12		
60	4	3	7		
61	8	4	12		
62	5	6	11	53	
63	4	3	7		
64	6	5	11		
65	7		7		82
66	4	1	5		
67	3	3	6	29	
68	1	4	5		
69		3	3		
70	7		7		
71	3	2	5		
72	2	3	5	23	
73	1		1		
74	1	2	3		
75	1	4	5		50
76	6	1	7		
77	6	1	7	27	
78	1	1	2		
79	2	2	4		
80		2	2		
81					
82				4	4
83	1		1		
84	1		1		
Total					1600

* 5-yr. interval totals adjusted for sex distribution; 10-yr. interval totals adjusted additionally for estimated missing data.

Table 19

Age Distribution of Guineas Compared with State of West Virginia

Age Group	Guineas 1947-8*	W.Va., 1940(3)	W.Va., 1930 (3)
0-9	23.4	20.4	24.7
10-19	21.5	21.6	21.4
20-29	15.3	17.3	16.5
30-39	13.5	13.7	13.3
40-49	9.1	10.8	10.4
50-59	8.6	7.9	7.2
60-69	5.1	5.2	4.1
70-75	1.4	1.5	1.2
75-	2.0	1.5	1.3

* From estimates of Table 18.

(3) U.S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population, II, part 7, 449.

Table 20

Distribution of Guinea Voters by Post Office Address

Post Office	% of Voters	
Moatsville	15.1	(several rural routes)
Meriden	13.0	(include Chestnut Ridge)
Philippi R.F.D.	17.0	
Philippi	10.3	
Galloway	4.1	
Brownton	3.2	
Flemington	3.9	
Junior	.4	
Grafton	15.2	(city and R.F.D.)
Simpson	12.2	(West Hill on rural route)
Rosemont	.7	
Thornton	1.8	(Mt. Airy)
Wendel	1.4	
Barbour County	1.1	(place unspecified)

Tables 20, 21, and 22 show different measures of the distribution of the Guinea population. The last indicates that the Guinea families are, for the most part, fairly well distributed among the different localities. In detail there are variations; but the dominant Mayle family is found in every locality where more than threeGuinea voters are listed, and the proportion of Mayles living in a given community is nowhere much different from the proportion of all Guineas. Some of the smaller families are, of course, more concentrated: the Crostons and Newmans are especially numerous around Philippi and Meriden; the Minors and Norrises stick close to Philippi, and the Daltons are concentrated in the Grafton vicinity (where some of them attend the colored school). The names of Newman, Minor, and Collins are missing at Simpson and in the West Hill school; and the names of Norris, Collins, and Minor are found among neither voters nor school children in the Hoatsville section. This uneven distribution does not prove that a thorough mixing of these families has not taken place throughout the region, for the practice of patrilocality may result only in maintaining a concentration of the names, particularly where ownership of the scarce land has been established.

The question of local mobility of the group as a whole may be approached by comparison of present residence with county of birth; since most births are listed only by county, further detail is not easily obtainable. Table 23 shows the fraction born in each county by present residence and sex. It clearly

Table 21

Percent of Guinea Children Attending Each School

Berryburg #2	5.6
Prichard	6.9
Lick Run	4.5
Hanging Rock	9.0
Chestnut Ridge	10.6
Sutton	9.8
Minard	4.8
Meriden	17.8
West Hill	26.6
Mt. Airy	4.3

Table 22

Percent of Each Family Living in Specified Locations

Location	All	Mayle	Dalton	Newman	Kennedy	Croston	Minor	Norris	Parsons	Collins	Culberson	Prichard
Philippi	11.58	9.88	1.72	15.40	6.58	15.00	37.50	29.17	6.82	18.19	-	-
" R.F.D. 1	5.04	6.59	-	5.77	2.63	-	9.38	-	2.27	9.09	66.67	-
" R.F.D. 2	4.35	2.99	1.72	-	7.90	-	18.75	37.48	-	-	-	-
" R.F.D. 3	1.50	1.50	-	9.62	-	1.25	-	-	-	-	-	-
" R.F.D. 5	5.71	2.10	3.45	11.54	1.32	26.25	6.25	-	4.54	4.55	-	-
Moatsville	1.77	2.70	-	5.77	1.32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
" R.F.D. 2	5.17	4.19	3.45	5.77	14.48	10.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
" R.F.D. 3	8.16	12.29	6.90	-	3.95	6.25	-	-	-	-	-	100
" R.F.D. 5	0.27	0.60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meriden	12.25	13.78	8.62	23.06	10.53	15.00	-	12.50	4.54	-	33.33	-
Grafton	4.76	1.50	12.09	7.70	10.53	2.50	9.38	-	13.64	-	-	-
" R.F.D. 1	6.12	3.29	20.68	7.70	7.90	-	9.38	-	13.64	13.62	-	-
" R.F.D. 2	2.58	3.89	3.45	-	2.63	1.25	-	4.16	-	-	-	-
" R.F.D. 3	0.14	0.30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
" R.F.D. 4	1.50	1.50	6.90	-	-	-	-	-	4.54	-	-	-
" R.F.D. 5	0.41	0.30	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.54	-	-	-
Simpson	2.72	5.39	-	-	2.63	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
" R.F.D. 1	9.39	11.10	12.09	-	17.10	8.75	-	8.33	6.82	-	-	-
Galloway	3.94	5.09	3.45	-	3.95	-	-	-	15.91	-	-	-
Flemington	1.25	0.60	-	1.92	-	2.50	-	-	6.82	4.55	-	-
" R.F.D. 1	0.41	-	-	3.84	-	1.25	-	-	-	-	-	-
" R.F.D. 2	2.58	2.99	-	-	1.32	5.00	6.25	-	4.54	-	-	-
Brownton	3.26	3.89	6.90	-	3.95	-	-	8.33	2.27	4.55	-	-
Wendel	1.36	1.20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27.24	-	-
Thornton	1.09	0.60	3.45	-	1.32	-	3.12	-	-	9.09	-	-
" R.F.D. 1	0.68	0.30	5.18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
" R.F.D. 2	0.14	0.60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Barbour Co.	1.09	0.30	-	1.92	-	2.50	-	-	9.09	-	-	-
Other Taylor Co.	0.82	0.60	-	-	-	2.50	-	-	-	9.09	-	-
% of total		45.4	7.9	7.1	10.3	10.9	4.4	3.3	6.0	3.0	0.8	1.0

Table 23

Percent of Guineas Born in Specified Areas by Residence and Sex

Residence	Birthplace: Barbour Co. Tot.	Barbour Co. Male	Barbour Co. Fem.	Taylor Co. Tot.	Taylor Co. Male	Taylor Co. Fem.	Other W.Va. Tot.	Other W.Va. Male	Other W.Va. Fem.	Ohio Tot.	Ohio Male	Ohio Fem.	Maryland Tot.	Maryland Male	Maryland Fem.	Other Tot.	Other Male	Other Fem.
Barbour Co.																		
Philippi	92.7	93.2	92.1	1.2	2.3	-	2.4	2.3	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.6	1.2	-	2.6	-	-	-
" R.F.D.	84.6	87.5	81.4	6.5	7.8	5.1	5.7	3.1	8.5	2.4	1.6	3.4	.8	-	1.7	-	-	-
Meriden	89.4	94.0	84.1	4.3	2.0	6.8	3.2	2.0	4.5	1.1	-	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.3	-	-	-
Moatsville	77.1	78.8	74.4	17.4	16.7	18.6	-	-	-	2.8	3.0	2.3	1.8	1.5	2.3	.9	-	2.3
Flemington (Bar, & Tay.)	53.6	64.3	42.9	42.9	35.7	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.6	-	7.1
Galloway	53.3	61.1	41.6	23.3	22.2	25.0	13.3	5.6	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	11.1	8.3
Brownton	50.0	35.7	70.0	25.0	35.7	10.0	16.7	14.3	20.0	4.2	7.1	-	-	-	-	4.2	7.1	-
Other	72.7	85.7	50.0	-	-	-	27.2	14.3	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taylor Co.																		
Grafton	47.6	45.8	47.5	35.8	39.0	32.8	11.7	10.2	13.1	1.7	1.7	1.6	.8	-	1.6	3.3	3.4	3.3
Simpson	47.7	52.1	42.9	37.5	34.8	40.5	10.2	10.9	9.5	-	-	-	4.5	2.2	7.1	-	-	-
Rosemont	20.0	-	50.0	20.0	33.0	-	60.0	67.0	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thornton	23.1	25.0	20.0	53.9	62.5	40.0	23.1	12.5	40.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wendel	60.0	67.0	50.0	40.0	33.0	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All Barbour	80.8	83.0	78.1	10.0	10.4	9.6	4.7	3.0	6.9	2.2	1.9	2.3	1.2	.7	1.8	1.2	1.1	1.4
All Taylor	45.2	46.5	43.7	38.7	39.6	37.8	11.7	10.9	12.6	.8	.8	.8	2.0	.8	3.4	1.6	1.6	1.7

shows a movement from Barbour County to Taylor County. The four main population groups of Barbour County are made up of Guineas most of whom were born in Barbour County. Philippi and Meriden in the center of the county have a larger native-born fraction than does Moatsville, a rural district toward the northern part of the county. A third of the people with Flemington addresses live in Taylor County. The smaller groups in the coal-mining towns of Galloway and Brownton have relatively high fractions from Taylor County as well as from other West Virginia counties. The larger Guinea settlements of Taylor County are derived more from Barbour than from Taylor County.

Of the Guineas of this record born in Barbour County, 22.1% now reside in Taylor County; of those born in Taylor County, 33.8% now reside in Barbour County. Though a Guinea born in Taylor County is more likely to move, it appears that actually twice as many Guineas have moved from Barbour to Taylor as vice versa. The net movement to Taylor County may be a matter of crowding in Barbour County where Guineas are more numerous; it is in part a simple matter of diffusion, which results in movement toward lower concentration; the reverse current may be attracted by the desire for company and released by a loose attachment to a newer home; the movement of people from the flooded area has also been a disturbing factor (p. 213). It is also possible that some Barbour County Guineas have sought maternity ward facilities at the hospital at Grafton, which has

been in operation longer than the one at Philippi; if so too many births would be recorded as having occurred in Taylor County.

The figures show that the tendency toward mobility is only slightly greater for women than for men with reference to movements between Barbour and Taylor Counties as well as to movements into these counties from other areas. Evidently any tendency toward male inheritance of the family estate is balanced by a greater mobility of those males who do not inherit estates. Thirty-six men and 49 women have come from other counties. The men all have Guinea names; it is reasonable to believe that a major fraction of the women, who came from the same areas, were also born into Guinea families. Over half of the Guineas from counties other than Barbour and Taylor came from other West Virginia counties; several of these counties have been specifically reported as loci of Guinea settlement. There is undoubtedly a much greater stream of Guineas moving from Barbour and Taylor Counties to other areas.

The question of in-marriage is closely related to this study of migration. During the period 1909-1943, the names of 210 Mayles (Male before 1936) appeared in the Barbour County Index to Marriages. Similar data for Taylor County include 72 cases. The names of the persons married to the Mayles were distributed as follows:

	Barbour County	Taylor County
Mayle	66	38
Croston	23	8
Kennedy	18	4
Norris	14	4
Newman	10	3
Miner	11	-
Collins	8	-
Dalton	7	1
Parsons	7	1
Culberson	1	-
Others	45	13

Over half of the names listed under "others" are known in the area as Guinea names or are borne by children attending the Guinea schools. The degree of in-marriage may be considered as near 90%, and it may be noted that the most numerous families are represented in this list most often.

In view of the report that many Guineas had migrated to Zanesville, Ohio (among other cities), the marriage records at the Zanesville Courthouse were examined with the purpose of verifying the report and of determining the prevalence of in-marriage among the group in the new location. Notes were taken on 31 marriages which took place between 1935 and 1944; the information of interest is listed below:

14 Mayles marry people with non-Guinea names
Goins (colored; mother was Dalton) married Cooper
Miner married Barnett
Mayle married Norris (mother was Goins)
Mayle (mother Barnett) married Adams (mother Parsons)
Mayle (from Taylor County) married Stevens (mother Mayle)
James married Mayle divorcee (father Goins, mother Gibson)
Gibson married Newman (born in Philippi; mother Kennedy)
Stevens (colored; mother Mayle) married Mayle (born W.Va.)
Clifford (born W.Va.; mother Mayle) married Mayle (born W.Va.)
Mayle (mother Croston) married Cook (mother Croston)
Croston married Goins
Williams (mother Dalton) married Goins (mother Minor)
Goins married Tabler (mother Mayle)

Myers (colored; mother Newman) married Mayle (mother Mayle)
Holbert (mother Mayle) married Mayle (born Philippi)
Kennedy (mother Goins) married Mayle (born Philippi, mother Minor)
Minar (born Taylor County; mother Mayle) married Mayle

The list represents only those marriages of the decade which could be identified by the name Mayle or the combination of two other names or birthplaces which indicated Guinea connection. The frequency of these marriages indicates a group of over a hundred persons; the tendency for some degree of inmarriage is still marked, but not nearly so much as in the Guinea homeland. At least some of the Guinea associates in Zanesville are considered to be colored. Goins, Gibson, and Barnett are repeated names of people associated with the Guineas; they are mentioned here because they are common among mixed groups in the eastern parts of Tennessee and Kentucky, though no evidence of any connection with those groups is known. Stevens and Adams are both minor names of Guinea connections in Barbour County.

Physical Characteristics

The average height of Guinea men registering to vote is 5 ft. 8.7 in., that of women 5 ft. 4.5 in. These figures compare favorably with the averages for freshmen entering the University of Cincinnati between 1916 and 1936; the respective figures are 5 ft. 8.3 in. and 5 ft. 3.3 in. (4).

(4) Laurence B. Chenoweth, "Increase in Height and Weight and Decrease in Age of College Freshmen," Journal of the American Medical Association, CVIII (Jan., 1937), 354-6.

Table 24 shows for each of the leading families and for the group as a whole the distribution of eye and hair colors (and their combinations) as reported to the registrars of voters. The information given in it represents, in part, the descriptions which the Guineas would like to give for themselves. The term "dark" in some places is probably an euphemism for black as applied to the color of the hair, but it does not seem safe to combine it with black. Grayness of hair being primarily a function of age, it is not useful for genetic considerations in a study of this sort. Skin colors were not at all accurately reported and could not be meaningfully used.

The predominant color of hair and eyes is brown, which is found in nearly half the population in each case. The number reporting brown for both hair and eyes (22.2%) is almost exactly what would be expected from the individual frequencies of these two characteristics if they are inherited independently in a panmixic society (22.4%). Less than a quarter reported black hair, but light and red hair were unusual. On the other hand, blue and gray eyes were reported by nearly half the Guineas; their frequency in combination with brown hair is about what random combination demands. A study of the most numerous combinations of hair and eye color thus suggests segregation of the hereditary factors in a well mixed society. Examination of the extremes, however, shows significant excesses over random combination in the cases of light or red hair with gray or blue eyes, and dark or black hair with dark

Table 24

Percentage Distribution of Guinea Families For Specified Hair and Eye Colors

Eyes	Hair: Light		Red		Gray		Brown		Dark		Black		All	
Blue	1.5	-	.3	-	2.7	4.4	13.8	13.0	1.2	13.0	1.8	4.4	21.3	34.8
	2.0	7.7	-	1.3	4.0	7.7	30.0	19.2	4.0	1.3	4.0	5.1	44.0	42.3
	-	6.3	1.3	-	9.1	9.4	19.5	18.8	2.6	6.3	10.4	3.1	42.9	43.9
	3.8	1.8	-	-	2.5	3.6	21.5	14.3	5.1	-	6.3	3.6	39.2	23.3
	2.5		.4		4.5		17.0		2.5		4.0		30.9	
Gray	.3	-	.3	-	3.3	4.4	10.2	4.4	1.5	-	2.4	4.4	18.0	13.2
	-	1.3	2.0	-	-	2.6	6.0	11.5	4.0	-	6.0	6.4	18.0	21.8
	1.3	3.1	-	-	2.6	12.5	6.5	-	-	3.1	3.9	6.3	14.3	25.0
	-	-	-	-	3.8	1.8	8.9	3.6	1.3	-	3.8	-	17.8	5.4
	.5		.3		3.3		8.4		1.2		3.4		17.1	
Brown	.3	-	-	-	3.6	8.7	29.1	4.4	5.4	21.7	16.8	17.4	55.2	52.2
	2.0	1.3	2.0	-	4.0	6.4	18.0	12.8	2.0	-	10.0	11.5	38.0	32.0
	-	-	-	-	3.9	6.3	20.8	9.4	6.5	-	7.8	6.3	39.0	22.0
	1.3	-	-	-	3.8	7.1	12.7	28.6	7.6	3.6	7.6	21.4	33.0	60.7
	.5		.1		4.5		22.2		5.1		13.7		46.1	
Hazel	-	-	-	-	-	-	.9	-	.3	-	-	-	1.2	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	1.3
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-
	-		-		-		.5		.1		.1		.7	
Dark	-	-	-	-	-	-	.3	-	.3	-	.3	-	.9	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	1.3
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	1.3	-
	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	2.5	1.8	-	1.8	3.8	-
	-		-		.1		-		.7		.4		1.3	3.6
Black	-	-	-	-	.3	-	.3	-	1.2	-	1.5	-	3.3	
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	1.3	9.4	2.6	1.3
	-	-	-	-	-	1.8	1.3	-	2.5	-	1.3	5.4	5.1	9.4
	-		-		.3		.3		1.0		1.9		3.5	7.2
All	2.1	-	.6	-	9.9	17.5	54.6	21.8	9.9	34.7	22.8	26.2		
	6.0	10.3	4.0	1.3	8.0	16.7	54.0	43.5	10.0	2.6	20.0	25.6		
	1.3	9.4	1.3	-	15.6	28.2	46.8	28.2	10.4	9.4	24.7	25.1		
	5.1	1.8	-	-	11.4	14.3	45.7	46.5	19.0	5.4	19.0	32.2		
	3.5		.8		12.7		48.5		10.6		23.5			

Figures in each section of the grid arranged in following pattern:

Mayle	Norris
Newman	Others
Kennedy	Minor
Croston	Dalton
Total	

or black eyes; there are corresponding deficiencies in the combinations of dark or black hair with gray or blue eyes, and light or red hair with dark or black eyes (though only one individual would be predicted in the last case). This tendency for light hair to accompany light eyes and for dark hair to accompany dark eyes is actually rather slight in view of the probable genetic linkage between the tendencies for the two factors, the fact that the Guineas occasionally marry either whites or negroes, and the probable like-marry-like tendency resulting from the competition for mates.

Some family differences stand out. The Mayles are least frequently blue-eyed, and more frequently brown-eyed in compensation. The Minors have a high proportion of gray and blue eyes and light hair and a high combination of the two. Many of the light- and red-haired Guineas are Newmans. The Daltons are rarely gray-eyed, but most frequently brown-eyed; their eyes and hair are more frequently black than the average. These family differences also indicate a lack of complete mixing in the group.

The hospital at Philippi maintains a blood type file which contains 47 of the Guineas; their type distribution as compared with other groups is as follows:

	Number	Percent of Type			
		O	A	B	AB
Guineas	47	49	21	26	4
Pure Amerinds	453	91.3	7.7	1.3	-
Sioux	260	68.1	29.0	2.7	0.2
Negroes, North American	500	47.0	28.0	20.0	5.0
Negroes, N.Y.C.	730	44.2	30.3	21.8	3.7
U.S. (white)	20000	45.0	41.0	10.0	4.0

(5)

(5) Alexander S. Wiener, Blood Groups and Transfusion (third edition, Springfield, Ill.:Charles S. Thomas, 1943), 297.

Though the number of Guineas typed is hardly statistically significant (especially in view of the fact that the data represent a small number of in-bred families) the distribution of blood types is strikingly like the figures given for the negroes and quite unlike those given for the Indians.

History of the Guineas

The name Guinea is presumed to refer to the Guinea Coast of Africa, whence many of the slaves were brought. It immediately, then, connotes negro blood of the era of slavery. The term has also been applied to Italians in some parts of the country during the present century. Its general use is as a term of contempt implying racial inferiority.

It is not known when the term was first used in West Virginia for this mixed group, but it was probably well established by the time of the Civil War. It was applied to a member of the Norris family during that war (6), and the place now called Meriden was also known as Guinea. Tradition carries it back to early in the last century.

Because of their predominance in numbers, it seems safe to assume that the history of the Guineas is the history of the Mayles. This is a condition not found to such an extent with any other mixed group. If we account for the Mayle family, we may likewise account for the Guineas, even though facts to be presented indicate that the numerical dominance of the

(6) Ruth Woods Dayton, Samuel Woods and His Family, (Privately printed, 1939), 7, 25.

Mayles does not cover the full period of our record. It is not suggested that other families are not of interest or that they will be neglected, but only that the Mayles are a sufficient if not the necessary element in the Guineas as we see them today.

The group may be examined from the census records; their early presence in several counties of what is now West Virginia is indicated, but only small segments of the group are found in these counties now. Table 25 shows the number of families of free colored or mulatto classification with the known Guinea names found in certain Virginia counties in the years indicated. Its data do not fit together perfectly to form a clear and logical story of development of the Guineas. Hampshire County appears as a possible earlier home of the Guineas, several of the common names appearing there in 1784. The censuses of 1784 and 1830 show no other such possibility outside of the present Guinea territory, which was not included in the earliest record; only two other Males of any spelling were listed in Virginia in the incomplete records of 1782-1785 (p.*308*).

Examination of the available data shows that it is physically possible that all the Males were descended from one of the men listed in the 1784 census, Wilmore Male, Sr., of Hampshire County (head of a family of two); listed along with him is Wilmore Male, head of a family of 10. The name Wilmore Male occurs in Randolph County in 1820 (family of 8), Hampshire County in 1830 and 1840 (family of two, age 55-100), and Harrison

Table 25

Number of Guinea Names (Families) Appearing in Census at Specified Times and Places under Free Colored and Mulatto Classification (except in 1784)

(Numbers after year give respectively the total number of families recognized and the total number named Male)

1784 (12- 2) (Listed as white*)

Hampshire County
- Male - 2
- Kanada - 2
- Newman - 6
- Collins - 2

1810 (7 - 3)

Monongalia County
- Mail - 2
- Kanedy - 1

Hampshire County
- Kennedy - 1
- Male - 1
- Croston - 1

Harrison County
- Cannady - 1

Randolph County
-

1820 (25 - 5)

Hampshire County
- Collins - 2

Monongalia County
- Dorton - 5
- Pritchett 1

Harrison County
- Newman - 3
- Kenady - 2
- Male - 1

Randolph County
- Male - 4
- Norris - 3
- Collins - 1
- Parsons - 1

Loudon County
- Newman - 2

1830 (41 - 7)

Hampshire County
- Male - 1
- Croston - 1

Monongalia County
- Dorton - 4
- Kennedy - 1
- Newman - 1
- Parsons - 1
- Prichard -1

Harrison County
- Kennedy - 2
- Male - 1
- Newman - 3

Randolph County
- Male - 4
- Norris - 3
- Collens - 1
- Newman - 2

Loudon County
- Newman - 7
- Canada - 1

Preston County
- Croston - 2
- Dorton - 1
- Male - 1

Shenandoah County
- Kennedy - 1
- Newman - 2

1840 (48 - 16)

Hampshire County
- Croston - 5
- Newman - 1
- Male - 1

Monongalia County
- Newman - 2
- Dorton - 2
- Pritchard 1
- Parsons - 2

*No blacks were listed in Hampshire County in 1784. Wilmore Male, Jr., later reported as colored, was listed as white along with his father. In 1782 blacks were listed, but none were family heads.

Table 25 (cont.)

1840 (cont.)

Randolph County
Male - 10
Kanada - 3
Norris - 5
Dorton - 1
Newman - 2
Croston- 1

Preston County
Dalton - 2

Harrison County
Male - 5
Newman - 2
Collins- 1
Norris - 1
Kennedy- 1

1850 (39 - 15) (note smaller area)

Allegheny County, Md.
Mail - 4

Barbour County
Male - 9
Croston- 2
Norris - 6
Collins- 1
Dalton - 5
Newman - 4
Canada - 1

Taylor County
Mail - 2
Newman - 2
Parsons- 3

1860 (34 - 18)

Allegheny County, Md.
Male - 3

Barbour County
Male - 11
Croston- 4
Newman - 3
Collins- 3
Norris - 1
Dalton - 2
Pritchard 1

Taylor County
Male - 4
Adams - 2

1870 (69 - 31)

Allegheny County, Md.
Mail - 4

Barbour County
Male - 21
Croston- 9
Collins - 7
Dalton - 4
Dorton - 2
Newman - 3
Norris - 2
Kennedy - 3
Adams - 1
Parson - 1

Taylor County
Male - 6 (3 white)
Dalton - 2
Collins - 1
Parsons - 1
Pritchett 1
Kennedy - 1

1880 (91 - 44)

Barbour County
Male -39
Croston - 9
Dalton - 7
Newman - 6
Collins - 6
Kennedy - 5
Norris - 3
Pritchard 2
Minor - 1
Adams - 1
Parsons - 1

Taylor County
Male - 5
Croston - 1
Adams - 2
Minor - 1
Dalton - 1
Parsons - 1 (7)

(7) Hu Maxwell in The History of Barbour County, West Virginia (Morgantown, W.Va.: Acme Publishing Co., 1899), 310-1, estimates the Guineas at more than a thousand in Barbour County; assuming steady growth, this figure is too high to be consistent with either the census data or the writer's present estimates.

County in 1840 (family of 7, age 24-36). It seems evident that we are dealing with at least three Wilmore Males, one of whom probably moved from Hampshire County to the area of the present Barbour County (which was formed from Randolph and Harrison). The following Hampshire County deed tells of the conditions of life of this family:

> "Be it known to all whom it may concern that I, Wilmore Male, of the county of Hampshire and commonwealth of Virginia do by these presents liberate, emancipate, and forever set free from after this date of my death my negro woman Nancy on condition that she remain with me during my natural life in the quality of my wife.
>
> May 26, 1826
>
> (Signed) William his X mark Male." (8)

An earlier deed of Hampshire County listed as grantors "Wilmore Mail and Precilla his wife" in 1801 (9). It is probable that the man concerned in the emancipation of Nancy is the son of Wilmore Male, Sr. The following interpretation of this situation is not entirely consistent with the facts available to us at present, though it seems to be based on some of them; the other sources of information have not been discovered, but may have provided a basis of truth for the story:

> "Marquis Calmes, a Frenchman, came to Virginia from Haiti before 1730, bringing with him several slaves; one of these eloped with a Cherokee Indian and later bore him a daughter, Priscilla Harris, who was known to the plantation folk as Nancy. Nancy was married by Wilmore Male, Sr., an English brick-maker who came to Hampshire County about 1750; Wilmore Male, Jr., born in 1756,

(8) Hampshire County County Deed Book XXV, 58, filed in Courthouse at Romney.
(9) Hampshire County Deed Book XII, 326.

> fought in the revolution. The elder Male at the age of about 80 was receiving a pension in 1818, and the younger Male was receiving a pension in 1840 at the age of 84." (10)

One might wonder a little about the age at which Wilmore Male, Sr., became a brick-maker; it also seems evident from the previously examined records that Priscilla and Nancy were not identical. Examination of the pension file on Wilmore Mail (there is only one, apparently on W. M., Jr., who was in both the 1818 and 1840 records) (11) does not clarify everything. He served in the Revolutionary War; in 1820 is a reference to his wife Priscilla, "who is unable to contribute but little to her support;" and the implication from the records is that he left a widow when he died in 1840 or 1841. The census of 1840 lists him as a pensioner, "Wilmore Male (Col.?) [sic] Age 84." One Marquis Calmes, incidentally, was listed as a census enumerator in Hampshire County in 1784.

The name Croston is a prominent Guinea name which is said to have a Dutch background. The Crostons are also said to have stemmed from marriage between whites and Indians, and older people in the region have stated that Indian types used to appear occasionally; some of the Crostons near Chestnut Ridge do not like the society of their neighbors (the question of who is and who is not black comes up among the Guineas as it does among the Cajans) and send their children to the Meriden school instead. The Daltons are said to have been a particularly black segment of the population, and specific families (such as

(10) J.C. Sanders, article in Mineral Daily News-Tribune (Keyser, W.Va.), March 27, 1941.
(11) Pension Record S38171, Wilmore Mail, U.S. National Archives.

Parsons) are sometimes mentioned as the offspring of white masters by their slaves.

The Norris family seems to have had a somewhat separate history; they have been considered as lighter in color and of more substantial stock than some of the other families. Their settlements have been chiefly near the River, on both sides, just below Philippi. The Norris family history is suggested by three lines of evidence: (1) a family Bible in the hands of one of its members published in 1829, but having records of events as far back as 1791; (2) family traditions based mostly on the word of a man who died a few years ago at the reported age of 103; (3) a family historian (of doubtful reliability) who claims to have all the information. This historian has recently placed the following typewritten inscription on an unmarked upright slab of sandstone in the Norris cemetery:

> "Sam Norris the Fore Father of the Norris Race
> Borned at Morgontown 1750 His Father Sam and Indian
> His Mother Betsie a English Woman Came to Hacker Creek
> 1764 Married Pretty Hair Deloware Indian Second Wife
> Ad Ambler Father of Eight children William James
> Sallie Annie George John Sam Betsie Died in the Road
> at the Welch Cemetery a Four OClock in the Morning 1844."

The Indian Pretty Hair is a tradition in the Norris family, which, it might be added, claims two branches. A marriage recorded in the Monongalia County Courthouse at Morgantown confirms an entry of 1815 in the family Bible concerning William Norris and Anna Newman. The censuses of 1830, 1840, and 1850 confirm the gravestone marker to the extent that they list a

Samuel Norris, Sr., and other Norrises with all of the five names given for his sons except George; the name of George Norris is recorded in an 1845 tax book (12); a William Norris is listed in a Harrison County Deed Book as early as 1798 (13). The family Bible was obtained by one of the Norrises from a Culberson in 1862; the names of Collins, Newman, Male, and Kennedy all figure in it by the 1870's.

The information given above is all that is available to indicate any tradition of Indian blood in the Guinea group. Such is not inherently improbable even though the area had no sedentary Indian population. One or more of the families may have appeared as mixed Indian and white before mating with the mulattoes. Negro blood was early involved in the group, very probably from the time of our earliest records of any of these people. It is evident that the Guineas had origin in a few individuals and have increased mostly by expansion of the original family names.

The Guinea birthplaces recorded by the censuses are invariably listed as Virginia; this does not limit them to any small area, but it shows that migrations north or south were not important.

The controversy over the presence of negro blood in these people is as old as settlement in the region. In 1850 the state of Virginia imposed an annual tax of $1 upon free negroes. The

(12) Barbour County Land Book, 1845.
(13) Harrison County Deed Book IV, 9, filed in courthouse at Clarksburg.

records of the Circuit Court at Philippi record the efforts of some of the Guinea progenitors to avoid this tax. One Aaron Male was excused from the tax in 1852 on the evidence at hand which indicated he had less than one-fourth negro blood (14), but previously two members of the Newman family had been denied this exemption (15). About the same time John Dolton was referred to as a "free man of color" in another lawsuit (16). The Guineas seem to have been mixed people of borderline status and appearance who well might have been absorbed in the white population if they had been fewer and memories poorer.

The land books of Barbour County record 124 transactions between 1845 (when the county was formed) and 1917 in which members of the Male, Newman, Norris, and Croston families obtained land; 83 of these entries concern Males. Fifty of the total, 31 involving Males, had occurred by 1885, and an additional 25 in the following 17 years. The locations of the land involved in these transactions were given by waterway; though they are not confined to the present areas of Guinea concentration, they include all these areas (except for the "flatwoods" southwest of Philippi). Most of the places where land was obtained by Guineas had some of the group there by 1885. The records of Harrison and Randolph Counties, which included this area before 1845, have few entries involving the Guineas, who

(14) County and Circuit Clerk's Orders, III, 332-3, filed in Barbour County Courthouse, Philippi.
(15) Ibid., 6.
(16) Ibid., 57.

were then few in number and probably slow to acquire land. The first Male to acquire land in Randolph County, east of the Tygart, was Richard in 1818. Harrison County, west of the River, has recorded five such transactions between 1827 and 1841 and a purchase of land by William Norris in 1798.

The tax books provide more information to confirm the distribution of the Guineas. The number and the surnames of Guineas on the tax books in the given years follow:

Barbour County

1845
Croston - 1
Kennedy - 1
Male - - 3
Norris - 2

1858
Croston - 1
Dalton - 2
Kennedy - 2
Male - - 6
Newman - 3
Norris- - 1

1872
Collins - 2
Croston - 3
Dalton - 1
Male - - 15
Newman - 4
Norris - 1

1900
Collins - 2
Croston - 20
Dalton - 4
Kennedy - 6
Male - - 35
Minor - - 4
Newman - 8
Norris- - 7
Parsons - 1

Taylor County

1844
None

1870
None

1901
Dalton - 2
Kennedy- 2
Male - - 6

1944
Collins- 2
Croston- 9
Dalton - 9
Kennedy- 8
Mayle - 37
Norris - 2

The data confirm the Guineas' move into the Taylor County settlement, and particularly their establishment there as landholders, in relatively recent times. Evidently the Guineas' foothold at West Hill was not established long before 1900. It is interesting to note that all the Croston holdings were in a single district in Barbour County in 1900 and likewise in

Taylor County in 1944. The locations given with the tax data tend to substantiate the statement that the first settlement of Guineas was in the upper part of the present Barbour County (Narrows area), where the better-to-do, lighter-complexioned, and more aloof Guineas are living today.

West Hill is said to have been a station on the underground railroad before the Civil War. Even if this report is true, it bears no obvious relation to the present Guinea population; the Guineas have taken over the area recently, and their names are the same here as in Barbour County whence they apparently came.

Many people in the region today say that the old-timers among the Guineas looked less like colored people than the present generation. There is a belief that the Guineas were being absorbed until they started moving to Ohio and mixing with Ohio negroes; undoubtedly some black blood has been introduced into the county in this manner, as well as through the immigration of some negroes into the coal fields of the area. Since the area (outside of Grafton) had formerly very few negroes, these infusions are undoubtedly noticed by the population. There is some mixing of Guineas with the white people, but the records show that the dominant marriage trend of the Guineas is with members of their own group. Furthermore, in this part of the country, colored blood may be remembered long after it is no longer obvious. It is doubted that the small addition of fresh negro blood has actually played a great part in maintaining the distinctness of the Guinea population.

Summary of the Guineas

The Guineas form a caste of about 2000 people in Barbour and Taylor Counties of West Virginia, living mostly in a few concentrations. They are mixed in race, probably among white, Indian, and negro peoples, the Indian blood having been introduced several generations ago. A very few are wealthy; the others are peasant farmers, coal-miners, day laborers, domestic servants, or perennial paupers. They have lived in Barbour County as long as history records; they evidently arose from the immigration, in the settlement period, of a small number of mixed families. A rapid multiplication took place, which resulted in great expansion of a few families, while the white increase, which may have been as rapid, was draining off to other areas. While the Guinea population grew, some emigration took place to other counties of West Virginia and to cities in the non-segregated paradise of Ohio. Within, panmixy has not been complete with respect to marriage or place; as a result the Guinea sub-groups and families vary in appearance, social status, and place of residence.

IX

THE JACKSON WHITES OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

The Jackson Whites are more easily located than the Melungeons, yet the term Jackson White is harder to define. Because the Jackson Whites live in a complex social climate, influenced by the metropolitan area centering on Manhattan, the stories about their origin are very numerous, but tracing the authenticity of any of these stories is even more difficult than in the case of other mixed groups. The one general fact of the Jackson White background that stands without dispute indicates that, in spite of being within sight of the world's highest buildings, they have been more closely associated with a physically demarked refuge area than any other mixed group. This is the only large mixed-blood group in the North, and it is the only one whose members have been willing to throw in their lot with the negroes; yet, as with other mixed groups, the unique term applied to them is not accepted by them, and they do not class themselves with the colored population at large.

The Triassic Lowland of northern New Jersey is characterized by sluggish tidewater streams with wide flood plains, an irregular covering of glacial drift, and ridges of trap rock which form its major features and set off the major stream valleys between them. None of these relief features is so striking, however, as the abrupt termination of the region

against the Reading Prong (Fig. 48), a northeast-southwest belt of crystalline rock standing only a few hundred feet above the lowland. Near the New York-New Jersey border the line separating the Lowland from the Prong, locally called the Ramapo Hills, is extremely sharp and straight. The hill land is very rough, and the soils are thin, with boulders exposed on the slopes. The skyline of the Ramapos is even when viewed from a distance. The mountains are mostly in forest, primarily second growth (Fig. 49); the older forests consist of broad-leaf trees with a lower layer of hemlock.

Several towns are scattered along the western base of the Ramapos and along a valley which forms a lowland route across the mountains on the northern side of the state line. These towns are within commuting distance of the metropolitan centers and are conveniently located on the railroads; characteristically each has one or more factories which use local labor and help to support the towns. In the particular section here considered the dominant industries are shops manufacturing railway equipment. There is some farming land in the open country between the towns, but much of the land is taken up in home sites, and the rural aspect has long since been lost. The towns are near, but not integrated with, one of the major highways leading from the congested districts to various vacation and resort spots to the northwest. A tremendous flow of traffic passes along this highway, especially at the beginning and end of summer weekends, but this traffic has little relation to

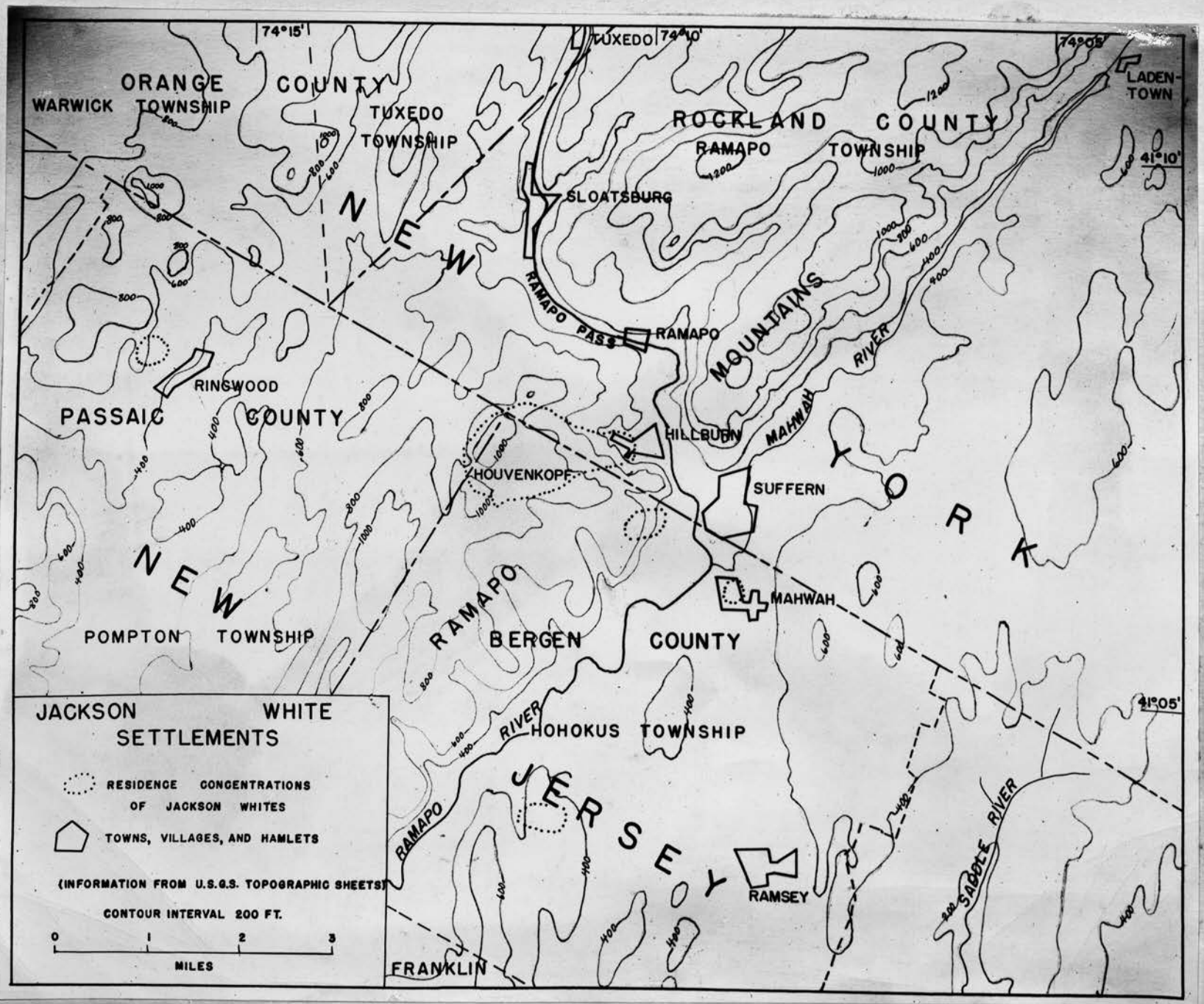

74°15'
TUXEDO
74°10'
74°05'
ORANGE COUNTY
WARWICK TOWNSHIP
TUXEDO TOWNSHIP
ROCKLAND COUNTY
RAMAPO TOWNSHIP
LADEN-TOWN
41°10'
SLOATSBURG
NEW
YORK
RAMAPO PASS
RAMAPO
MOUNTAINS
RIVER
RINGWOOD
PASSAIC COUNTY
HILLBURN
MAHWAH
HOUVENKOPF
SUFFERN
NEW
JERSEY
RAMAPO
BERGEN COUNTY
MAHWAH
POMPTON TOWNSHIP
RIVER
HOHOKUS TOWNSHIP
41°05'
RAMAPO
SADDLE RIVER
RAMSEY
FRANKLIN
JACKSON WHITE SETTLEMENTS
RESIDENCE CONCENTRATIONS OF JACKSON WHITES
TOWNS, VILLAGES, AND HAMLETS
(INFORMATION FROM U.S.G.S. TOPOGRAPHIC SHEETS)
CONTOUR INTERVAL 200 FT.
0 1 2 3
MILES

Fig. 48.

243a

Fig. 49. Second-growth forest on the boulder-strewn Houvenkopf.

Fig. 50. Jackson White children, brother and sister, brunette and blonde, but both "white" in appearance.

Fig. 51. Jackson White children. The children in Figs. 50 and 51 are among the minority living on the Houvenkopf.

the local life.

Several elements, quite different from one another, make up the population of the area. A definition of the Jackson Whites requires drawing lines, not agreed on by all, between these different elements, and several of these have played a role in the evolution of the Jackson Whites. The towns include the usual assortment of white people ranging from the well-to-do whose ancestors first took land in the region to the laborers of the factories, many of whom are recent arrivals. These are all served by local merchants, launderers, policemen, teachers, etc. A considerable group resides in or near these communities but has its business connections in the cities. The old farm population is mostly gone except for some dairymen, but many of the people engage in other activities in the area. North of the state line, in the vicinity of Ladentown, are a few small settlements of white mountaineers, living in the crudest of cabins in small clearings on the hillsides. These families are said to have lived in the mountains for several generations and to trace back to Revolutionary time; one of them is said to have sprung from a group of Irish tinkers (1); a more retarded mountain group would be hard to find anywhere in the country. This part of the Ramapos, except for the small clearings, is covered with dense forest; trails from the roads lead up through the forest a mile or more to the little settlements. The clearings have a few old fruit trees and a few small veg-

(1) Edward Ringwood Hewitt, Personal communication, Sept. 27, 1949.

etable gardens, but at present no other sign of food production. In the past these mountaineers have made a part of their livelihood by making and selling splint baskets and wooden scoops for the sugar or flour bin.

The society of colored people in the area is nearly as complex as that of the whites. Many colored families of the area date from the time of the first census. Some light-colored negroes live on the Houvenkopf (the summit region of the Ramapos near Hillburn, New York); many of their relatives are found on the lowland, especially in and around Hillburn and Mahwah, as well as at Ringwood to the west. Other negroes, usually with other family names, live in the vicinity and work in the shops and other places. Some of the latter families have certainly lived in the area a long time; others are evidently newcomers of the industrial era; some are said to have been brought in as strike-breakers some years ago. A New York City negro group has recently established a boxers' training camp and resort on the Houvenkopf.

It is the first of these colored groups who will be considered as Jackson Whites in this discussion. As far as I can determine, this group alone has exhibited the characteristics which have given the Jackson Whites their widespread reputation, though accounts of them are often embellished with attributes properly belonging to the white mountaineers or to some other group. Most of the Jackson Whites are light in color; most of them bear the names of DeFreese, DeGroat, VanDunk,

and Mann; and the evidence is that until recent years they lived on the Houvenkopf. Negroes with other names are included sometimes with the Jackson Whites - Jackson, Sisco, White, and Jennings; some of these have lived in the region a long time, but apparently they lack the light-skinned characteristic and did not live on the mountain. Though there has certainly been some intermarriage in recent years, it seems that they form a different segment of society. It is sometimes reported that one strain of Jackson Whites has a much larger proportion of white blood than the rest; this report apparently has reference to the white mountaineers described above; again a little blood may have been mixed recently, but the white mountaineers have different names and a separate location; they might once have been on about the same cultural and economic level.

In physical appearance the Jackson Whites are as variable as other mixed peoples. Some of them are distinctly light in color and could easily pass for white without arousing suspicion. Many others have somewhat dark skin, but show no negroid features (Figs. 50 and 51). Others run to brown and dark brown in color. One of the Jackson Whites made it clear that most of her people had "good hair" (meaning not kinky) in contrast to the Southern negroes; this distinction is not true of all the Jackson Whites, however.

A small minority of the Jackson Whites are albinos, contrasting strangely with their darker relatives; it is estimated that about one per cent of the group in the area studied exhibit

this characteristic. I was not able to obtain the data for tracing it in the group. If albinism is here a recessive trait, and its extreme form usually is (2), it is more likely to be revealed in in-bred groups, and nearly ten per cent of the Jackson White population might carry the gene. The albinism, however, seems to be particularly concentrated in one or two families in the village of Mahwah, where the incidence must be higher than the figure given. A few are said to have obtained employment in circuses from time to time; it has also been suggested that an albino deserted from a circus and joined the group to provide this strain. Another peculiarity of genetic nature found among the Jackson Whites concerns the digits, both polydactyly and syndactyly having been reported (3). The article referred to shows a pedigree which involves these peculiarities in four generations; each parent affected married a normal person, and in each generation at least half the people of record were affected, some with polydactyly, some with syndactyly, some on the fingers, some on the toes, usually combining two or more of the foregoing. The factor for the deformity is considered to be genetically dominant, but the seemingly outdated conclusion lists as its causes inbreeding, low intelligence, dietary deficiencies, and poverty in a

(2) Gates, op. cit., I, 272-3. Albinism is reported elsewhere under conditions of race crossing, indicating that the recessive gene probably occupies the same chromosome locus for all races. The Jackson White proportion of albinism seems to be comparable with that reported for the San Blas Indians of seven per thousand.
(3) S.T. Snedecor and W.K. Harryman, "Surgical Problems in Hereditary Polydactylism and Syndactylism," Journal of New Jersey Medical Society, XXXVII (Sept., 1940), 443-9.

continued outcast environment. Gates (4) states that syndactyly is likely to accompany polydactyly, which is usually a dominant trait; the polydactyly may have low penetrance, however, so that a basis for an interpretation of the phenomenon as the result of inbreeding is provided even though the factor be a dominant. Syndactyly, as a failure to develop properly, might possibly be environmentally (i.e., prenatally) affected in its expression.

The number of Jackson Whites living in the Ramapo area is estimated at 1500. Many have been identified at other northern New Jersey towns, and this estimate might easily be doubled to include them. This 1500 is divided nearly equally into three different localities.

One of the centers is the town of Hillburn in Ramapo Pass. Hillburn is supported by a factory, and many of the Jackson Whites are employed there. The town has a colored section which is directly at the foot of the Houvenkopf; this district is quite unlike the shanty towns found on the outskirts of many cities; the houses are substantial in size and structure, decently kept up, and painted. This condition is in contrast to that found in the near-by village of Ramapo, where squalid conditions characterize the occupation of company houses by white workers and their families. A road leads up the Houvenkopf, where a score of Jackson White families are still living in scattered homes; their jobs, however, are all in the towns

(4) Op. cit., 417-435.

below.

The Jackson Whites have a Presbyterian church in Hillburn. The minister has for a long time been a Southern negro who was assigned to the place. Because of the differences in background, he has not always been accepted fully by his parishioners. Until the fall of 1947 Hillburn presented the anomaly of a segregated school in the State of New York; the colored children were required to attend it. On opening day in 1947 the colored children showed up at the white school; the dispute which ensued was settled by the New York State school authorities by the abolition of the segregated school. The group attends high school in near-by Suffern. The Honor Roll of the second World War in Hillburn lists 41 persons of Jackson White names with DeFreese and VanDunk predominating. Most of the Jackson Whites are said to have entered military service as negroes, some of them under protest.

The second concentration of Jackson Whites is in and near Mahwah, New Jersey. A few of them live on the east side of the Houvenkopf, but most of them live in two lowland spots, one in a rather poor colored section of the town, the second on a rural road several miles from the town. The group in town live in a more typical colored district than that seen in Hillburn; the houses are smaller and marginal, less well kept; the district is more crowded, and the streets are rougher. Fike Road, a few miles out of Mahwah, is in the country; it is very rough, almost impassable in wet weather, and runs through a district

of badly run down farms. The land is not intensively used; much is grown up in trees, and much of the remaining land is not currently in crops. Many of the landowners have jobs elsewhere. Fike Road has a bad reputation in the area as a generally undesirable neighborhood.

The Mahwah schools are not nominally segregated by race, but the same result has been approximated by the fact that the two school districts are separated by the railroad tracks. Aside from the colored people, most of the children attending the one school are from the families of Polish laborers. The first grade in this school was reported to have 37 students in 1947-48; thirty of these were colored, and most of the colored group were considered as Jackson Whites.

The third concentration of Jackson Whites is in the vicinity of Ringwood in a valley about 10 miles west of the eastern edge of the Ramapos. Ringwood has been a source of iron ore since before Revolutionary days (5); the operation of the mines was stopped by the depression in the 1930's, but was revived by the second World War; they were closed after the war, but attempts are being made to re-open them. The Jackson Whites have been employed at these mines for a long time. A number of two-story company houses are scattered about the area and form the homes for most of the Jackson Whites. The times when the mines have been closed have been very hard for these people.

(5) Edward Ringwood Hewitt, Ringwood Manor (Trenton, N.J.: Trenton Printing Co., 1946), 3.

Nevertheless, a strong conservatism keeps them from leaving the area; even in bad times the women will take domestic work only sporadically.

Though separated by several miles of unsettled country from the other Jackson White settlements, the Ringwood community has people with the same surnames as the other groups. These people have an Episcopal Church whose services are conducted by the rector of the white church at Pompton Lakes. The Ringwood Jackson Whites evidently maintain connections with those on the east side of the Ramapos, for certain strangers to the locality come to sing at such occasions as funerals. The number of Jackson Whites in the Ringwood area is estimated at 400 to 500 by local residents.

Other Jackson Whites have been reported in lesser numbers in many other near-by villages - Tuxedo, Congers, Dator's Crossing, and Park Ridge where several were in school; and undeterminable numbers are in New Jersey cities to the south.

The Jackson Whites are affiliated with several colored groups in spite of their pride in being somewhat separate. The Presbyterian Church mentioned above is one example; one of their women's clubs is a part of a national organization; and chapters are maintained in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Some social welfare workers report that the members of the group cling to the term Jackson White because it separates them from the other negroes. Others insist that none of them

like it or will own it. Some are said to believe it belongs to the white mountaineers mentioned above. The term is now nearly meaningless, since its origin is not known; the theories of its origin will be discussed later.

True cultural peculiarities among the Jackson Whites are few. They are reported to have used German or Dutch endings for plurals (e.g., shooen instead of shoes) and to have referred to a basket by the term "bockey," a Dutch adaptation (6). Dutch and German speech peculiarities are not unknown in this part of New York, however. On the other hand, a collector of folk-songs has recently found that the Jackson Whites have long sung some of the old English ballads (7). Superstition and religious fanaticism have both been reported; some believe in spells and magic. An onion is sometimes tied around the ankle to dispel a fever; other home remedies include skunk grass, yansey, catnip tea, and "peracine" (a cough medicine made with whiskey)(8).

History of the Jackson Whites

Only one publication has treated extensively the history and origin of the Jackson Whites (9). Since it has been quoted widely and has formed the basis for most subsequent articles, it is chosen as the point of departure for this discussion.

(6) J.C. Storms, Origin of the Jackson Whites of the Ramapo Mountains (Park Ridge, N.J.:1945), 25; see also (21).
(7) Anne Lutz, "The Ballad of the Butcher Boy in the Ramapo Mountains," New York Folklore Quarterly (Spring, 1947), 28.
(8) Constance Crawford, The Jackson Whites, M.A. thesis, School of Education, New York University, 1940, 55.
(9) Storms, op. cit.

This booklet does not list its sources, but I have attempted to get them from the author. According to him, the following elements have gone into the Jackson White mixing bowl:

(1) Hackensack Indians, who occasionally used the rough Ramapos for a hunting ground or, later, as a refuge from the whites.

(2) Tuscarora Indians, driven out of North Carolina, who passed here on their way to Onandaga on several 18th century treks, leaving the old, young, and sick behind as they passed.

(3) Deserting Hessian soldiers of the Revolutionary War who fled to the Ramapos for safety.

(4) British Army camp-followers who were forcibly recruited in England and supplemented with West Indian negro women by a contractor named Jackson and who, driven out of New York when the Americans captured it, took refuge in the Ramapos.

(5) Freed and escaped slaves, some belonging to the Dutch settlers.

(6) Two Italian immigrants who married into the group about 1870.

These elements will be considered in the order presented.

The native Indians may well have contributed to the population in the area. Traditions of Indian ancestry among the Jackson Whites will be evaluated later. There is no documentary proof of such mixture in the Jackson Whites.

The story of the migration of the Tuscaroras northward to join their brother Iroquois is well known and very romantic. As far as I know, there is no documentation of their leaving permanent residents in this part of the Ramapos. Storms (10) mentions an annual visit to the locality by other Iroquois peoples to fulfill some important ceremony; if such a custom exists, the present Jackson Whites apparently have not heard about it. (The Tuscarora word for strawberry - te-hām' - was found in the Jersey Dutch dialect, but not specifically among the Jackson Whites).

Hessian soldiers were, of course, in the vicinity, and fighting actually took place around Ramapo Pass. The possibility that some got into the Jackson White ancestry is not inherently unlikely; only the name Mann, however, suggests such ancestry.

The fourth item on the list is most important in numbers and interest and is the chief contribution of Mr. Storms's booklet. The evidence for the story is based on four vague sources:

(i) The "understanding" that the contract with Jackson is still on file in the British War Office. No attempt was made on my part to verify this.

(ii) Tradition still alive in the 1870's in the Saddle River Valley, concerning the passage of the Jackson Whites through there in 1783. They attempted to live off the country and were beaten and stoned by the residents. I

(10) Ibid., 6.

talked with two other lifetime residents of the region; neither had ever heard the account.

(iii) The custodian of the Alexander Hamilton House in New York, who was said to know about the voyage across the sea and the stay of the women in a stockade in Lispenard's meadow (on the site of the present Greenwich Village). The present custodian, essentially door-keeper and janitor, has been there only a few years; his predecessor is dead. The secretary of the society that maintains the Hamilton House knows nothing of the story.

(iv) The files of Rivington's Gazette, a Tory newspaper published in New York during the Revolution, which were said to contain "sly references" to the visits of British soldiers to "Jackson's Whites or "Jackson's Blacks." The present writer and at least two other investigators have tried unsuccessfully to locate these references. Time was not available for a complete search through the issues of Rivington's Gazette. The absence of the references, therefore, cannot be positively stated.

Thus the bases of the story, obviously weak, have not been confirmed by such efforts as could be made. It is, however, not reasonable on this basis alone to assert that the story is untrue.

Considerable doubt is thrown on the story, however, by an examination of the consistency of the asserted facts with other known material. New York was a city of about 30,000

people with very few troops actually stationed in it; the troops were centered on Staten Island (11). The idea of keeping 3500 women in a stockade in lower Manhattan under these circumstances is almost fantastic. Furthermore, if there were 3000 women and associates involved in the trek across New Jersey to the Ramapos, the census has given us no record of them in the decades that followed. In the census records, the Jackson Whites can be identified only by color and name. Indeed, the census indicates that the present group started from very small beginnings and grew steadily up to the present time, when we find in the Ramapo area only half the number that was supposed to have been added to the group at one time. Furthermore, the present Jackson White group has no names that might have been provided by this numerous English element (even though mostly female), but is dominated by the Dutch forms. For these reasons the camp follower story is not accepted for the present purpose.

That freed or escaped slaves of Dutch owners played a part in the Jackson White ancestry is very likely in view of the Dutch names.

The account of the Italians who married into the group is at least essentially correct; the proof will be left to the following analysis of the census records. A Cassaloney family still lives on the Houvenkopf.

That the Dutch names were early in the country is attested

(11) Crawford, op. cit., 55.

by these facts: Of 15 Hollanders who signed documents concerned with the grant of Orange Township on March 20, 1686, four had the names de Vries (two), de Groat, and Mannde (12). This is probably the same grant reported elsewhere as the "Tappan patent" which involves a John de Vries, free negro (13). DeFreese, DeGroat, and Mann are all common names among whites in northern New Jersey, but VanDunk is very unusual.

Records from the censuses of the area are given in Table 26. The names Jackson and Sisco (not completely reported here) are frequently found in the census records. Unlike the Dutch names, however, Jackson and Sisco are found in several counties, and many of them were reported as black rather than mulatto in later censuses. It seems reasonable, therefore, to exclude them from the inner society of Jackson Whites as of the census dates, just as they appear to be separate from the group today.

The earlier New Jersey records are unfortunately missing; the first appearance of the Jackson Whites in New Jersey can not even be dated. It seems most likely from these records, however, that the Jackson Whites were originally in New Jersey and later moved to New York; since only the edge of the Houvenkopf is in New York, this observation is consistent with the assumed residence in that location.

One person well acquainted with the Jackson Whites said that they claimed German descent and told stories of a voyage

(12) Ibid., 41.
(13) George H. Budke, "The History of the Tappan Patent," The Rockland Record (Rockland County Society of the State of New York), II (1931-2), 35.

Table 26

Census Indications of Early Jackson Whites and Other Peoples:

Number of Families

1790

New York

Orange County

Sisco, free colored 1
Mann, white 1
deGroat, white 1
deFrieze, white 1 (held slaves)

New Jersey

Schedules missing; Bergen County had 192 free colored persons, 2300 slaves.

1800

New York

Rockland County had 68 free colored persons.

New Jersey

Bergen County had 202 free colored persons.

1810

New York

Rockland County

Mann, free colored 1
Jackson, free colored 2
Degrote, white 1

1830 (free colored only)

New York

Orange County

Jackson families

Goshen Township

Ciscoe 1
Mann 1

Rockland County

Ramapo Township

Mayne 1
Man 1

Orange Township

Cisco 3
Jackson 2

Clarkstown

Jackson

New Jersey

Bergen County

Hackensack Township

Jackson 2
Sisco 1

Table 26 (cont.)

Harrington Township
Jackson 2
Cisco 4
Bergen Township
Jackson 6
White 1
Franklin Township
Degroot 5
Mann 3
Pompton Township
Vandonk 2
Saddle River Township
Jackson 2
Cisco 1

1840

New York
Rockland County
Orange Township
Sisko, free colored 4
Ramapo Township

New Jersey
Bergen County
Saddle River Township
Jackson, free colored 2
Washington Township
Sisco, free colored 1
Jackson, free colored 1
DeGroat, free colored 2
New Barbadoes Township
Sisco, free colored 1
Hackensack Township
Cisco, free colored 3
Warington Township
Sisco, free colored 1
Franklin Township
DeGroat, free colored 2

1850

New York
Rockland County
Ramapo Township
Degroat, mulatto 2
Defrice, mulatto 1
Orange Township
Cisco, black 1
Jackson, black 1

New Jersey
Bergen County
Hohokus Township

Table 26 (cont.)

Degroot, mulatto 5
Mann, mulatto 5
Defreese, mulatto 3
Conklin, white1 (mulatto had been erased; this family belongs to the white mountaineers now)
Conklin, mulatto 1
Williams, mulatto 1
VanDun, mulatto 1
Day, mulatto 1
(all but one of the Degroots in the above list were listed consecutively; all but one of the Conklins were born in N.J.; all but one farmer were listed as laborers)

Washington Township
Thompson, mulatto 1
Degroat, black 1
Williams, mulatto 1
Sisco, black 2
Jackson, black 1

Franklin Township
Jackson, black 1

Saddle River Township
Jackson, black 1
Degroot, white 1

New Barbados Township
Sisco, black 1
Jackson, black 1

Passaic County
Pompton Township
District 17
Degrote, mulatto 1
Defrise, mulatto 1
Donk, mulatto 1

Paterson Township
Sisco, mulatto and black families

Manchester Township
Sisco, mulatto

1870

New York
Rockland County
Ramapo Township
-

New Jersey
Bergen County
Hohokus Township
DeGroat, mulatto 5
DeGroat, black 2
Mann, mulatto 5
Dufries, mulatto 2

Table 26 (cont.)

Dunck, mulatto 2
Castleyoni, white 1 (born in Italy)
Suffern, mulatto 2
Jennings, mulatto and black families
(mostly born in N.J. or N.Y., farm laborers; the wife of one Dunck was listed as white and of Irish birth; the Italian's wife and children were listed as white and born in New Jersey; 14 families including the Italian were almost consecutive.)

Franklin Township
Cisco, black 1

Passaic County
Pompton Township
Defrice, mulatto 1
VanDunk, mulatto 5
Milligan, mulatto 1
Morgan, mulatto 1
Degroat, mulatto 1
Hewitt, white
(all these were listed close together; Hewitt, master of Ringwood Manor, the old iron furnace and forge, presumably employed the Jackson Whites.)

across the sea which could not have been many generations before. Another confidant said they frequently made such statements as "my grandfather was a full-blooded Indian," but he had no idea of the accuracy of the statement. It has been said also that they looked more like Indians thirty years ago. One old Jackson White woman with whom I talked said that there was no German tradition in her family; she had always understood she had a Scotch, or possibly Irish, ancestry. Her grandfather had talked about Indians, but there were none in the vicinity during her life *. Another woman, middle-aged, said the Jackson Whites were Indian and white and that the German element had been introduced only recently. This conflicting testimony means either that the Jackson Whites know virtually nothing about their ancestry or that their ancestry is a hodge-podge. It is said by several that much of the negro blood in the group has been added during the last fifty years, since contact with outsiders has become more common. It is reliably said that one or two families of Oklahoma "Indians" have joined the group in the last few years.

A possible source of German blood is a group sent to operate the mines in 1763 (14); Hewitt also suggests that "tinkers" following the Revolutionary Army contributed an element to the group (15). The Ramapo region was also the hang-out of a

*This detached attitude about the Indians has been reported among other people who are said to claim Indian rather than negro ancestry.

(14) Hewitt, op. cit., 4.
(15) Personal communication, Sept. 27, 1948.

gang of desperadoes about the time of the Revolution.

The term Jackson White has not been satisfactorily explained. If the story about prostitutes for the British Army were true, the designation would logically follow. It has also been derived from the names Jackson and White (16); those are both colored families, but not part of the core group of the Jackson Whites. It has also been suggested that the term is a case of folk etymology derived from "jacks and whites;" jacks is a slang term for negroes (16) (used also in Louisiana) (p. ///). Such an unusual designation should have a specific derivation; and were it determined, it would probably throw light on the origin of the group.

Storms reports that, before the end of the nineteenth century, the Jackson Whites were isolated in their mountain stronghold and made it unsafe for anyone else to approach. This condition is not confirmed by any other source. They evidently lived there almost exclusively, certainly a backward group, and they may have been unpleasant to strange visitors. The reports indicate that they lived in part by working for other people or trading with them. They provided a source of labor for the farms and for domestic work, and elderly people living in the lowlands now report that the Jackson Whites were employed by their grandparents. One well-informed person reports a tradition of a period of farming prosperity on the mountain based on the use of the better

(16) Gilbert, "Memorandum ....," 443.

spots for growth of hay; it is said that the cattle-penning industry of the Ramapos fed the city markets. During a later period the economy had deteriorated to forest industries with products such as baskets, barrel staves, and charcoal. The basket-peddlers are frequently mentioned as part of the old Jackson White economy.

An old cemetery still visible in the forest dates back to Civil War times. The stones are mostly rough, but conventionally set (Fig. 52).

The old stories also indicate an effort to participate in the conventional practice of the Christian religion; one of the DeGroats is supposed to have conducted services on the mountain long before there was any church affiliation; he was said to have been advised by one of the lowland preachers.

Prior to the end of the last century the houses of the Jackson Whites were very crude, often log cabins. The people had little, if any, opportunity for schooling; in the 1870 census most of the adults were listed as illiterate. The first surviving written description of the people appeared in a popular magazine in 1872 (17). This report was very vague, but described the people as utter savages; it mentioned that three-fourths of the people had only three names and discussed their products: brooms, wooden tools, charcoal, and baskets. The possibility of their being descendants of runaway slaves was mentioned, but the term Jackson White was not

(17) "Community of Outcasts," Appleton's Journal, VII (March 23, 1872), 324-9.

Fig. 52. Part of the Jackson White cemetery on the Houvenkopf.

mentioned; could it have been unknown at the time?

Various county histories of the late nineteenth century find the group worthy of mention. One discusses the white mountaineers near Ladentown (18); another mentions negro blood in the Ramapos (19), while a third, identifying the Jackson Whites, stresses the Hackensacky Indian background (20). Since 1900 the Jackson Whites have been favorite, but not fair, game for newspapermen whose articles have embittered many of the group, though other Jackson Whites have taken delight in inventing stories to mislead their interviewers. The oldest worthwhile report on the Jackson Whites was made by Frank G. Speck in 1911 (21); he found their number to be at least 1500, their economic status rather poor, and no vestiges of native culture. Stoves were just replacing the fireplaces in their mud-chinked cabins; their baskets bore a general resemblance to Algonkian and Iroquoisan types in their checker work, but were of a very simple construction.

The influences that induced the Jackson Whites to leave their mountain retreat and to catch up with changing ways of living began about 1900. An artist moved up on the mountain (reportedly entering by ox-cart after dark and taking possession of an abandoned cabin) (22) to live with them and to assist in

(18) Frank Green, History of Rockland County (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1886), 401.
(19) David Cole, History of Rockland County, New York (NewYork: J. B. Beers and Co., 1884), 266.
(20) J.M. Van Valen, History of Bergen County, New Jersey (New York: New Jersey Publishing and Engraving Co.,1900), 181-2.
(21) "Jackson Whites," Southern Workman, XL (1911), 104-7.
(22) Storms, op. cit., 20.

their education. He was not generally popular with the group; he is said to have taken over tax-delinquent land from some of them; he called them savages, and his Seventh Day Adventism was not liked. He and his wife adopted two of the children and brought them up, though his enemies say he really put them to work as his servants. He conducted a school for the people by which their literacy was greatly improved. Another school was established by a well-to-do Hillburn woman on the site of the present training camp; for many years she paid the salary of a nurse who stayed here to advise the Jackson Whites. Teachers were provided by the county, and the Jackson Whites on the Houvenkopf attended school there for thirty years until the very recent consolidation of schools required their attendance at Mahwah. During this period the movement of the Jackson Whites into the lowland localities has transplanted most of the people. Meantime their population has continued to grow in numbers. Automobile roads have made the mountain more accessible; the attraction of the out-of-town location has brought a return current to the hill. Now the old houses are repaired or new ones are built; the mountain dwellings are equal in quality to those occupied by the Jackson Whites elsewhere, and the continuing descriptions of the floorless, mud-chinked huts are exaggerations. The group of Jackson Whites living on the mountain today is only a reminder of the day when it was their characteristic habitat.

Summary

The Jackson Whites of today are distinguished from other colored people of the Ramapo border towns by a modification of the negroid traits and by a few common family names, but more importantly by a common history which involves residence on the Ramapo upland until sometime after 1900. Their 1500 or more people have sprung from families of free colored persons and mulattoes who were not numerous at the time of the earlier censuses in the nineteenth century. The social history of the region is as complex as its present social make-up. It is likely, however, that the Jackson Whites today carry the blood of the slaves freed by Dutch masters (who were likely mixed before being freed), escaped Hessian soldiers (to satisfy the name Mann), Indians who may have mixed with the slaves very early, and white people, refugees or others, who joined the group.

X

OTHER SMALL GROUPS OF MIXED-BLOODS

The existence of many small groups of mixed-bloods is present evidence that the phenomenon does not depend entirely on the mass effect of large numbers. One of these groups of only a few hundred people has been taken up in VII and appears to be connected historically with a larger group. Others which I have investigated are described below.

Darke County, Ohio

Darke County, Ohio, and Randolph County, Indiana, form the home of another group of mixed-blooded people. These Darke County mixed-bloods do not strictly satisfy the definition set forth earlier for such people; they are probably not strictly distinguished from the negro in the area in which they live. They are mixed, however, and their names link them with certain others; a consideration of them here appears to be constructive.

Darke County is a Corn Belt area located on the plains covered with drift by the Late Wisconsin glaciation; it is the second richest county in Ohio in agricultural production (1). It is said to have been settled, in different parts, by French Canadians and Germans, but there is no general social differentiation in the area now.

The colored colony is situated in Liberty (formerly Ger-

(1) U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1945, I, Part 3, 22-35.

man) Township in the western part of the county, and extends west of the state line into Indiana. Five or six adjacent sections in Ohio and a somewhat smaller area in Indiana now belong to the colored group. A cross-roads hamlet known as Longtown is marked by a school, a church, a store, and a few residences; no other community center exists at the present time, though the main concentration used to be at Tampico, a mile south.

The people of the Darke County colony have complexions that run from brown to light; white people acquainted with them say truthfully "a lot of those colored people are whiter than I am." Red hair and blue eyes are not unusual characteristics. Some of the people show the very homely appearance of the mixtures that result when the negroid features are retained but the skin color is bleached.

The Longtown people are Corn Belt farmers along with all that the term implies culturally. They are educated, industrious, and prosperous. Most of them live in two-story frame houses, substantially furnished and decorated. The farms are smaller than the average in the county and are not quite so well kept up; these are only differences of degree, however.

The school which serves the neighborhood carries an enrollment of about 30 children in its eight grades. It is taught by a member of the group. If parents can arrange the transportation and do not consider the one-room school adequate, children may attend school in the village of Palestine. The building is still standing which once housed an academy serving

colored and white alike in the area.

On the basis of school attendance the population on the Ohio side must be near 200. Earlier figures give that portion of the colony as many as 450 (2). Many of the colony have moved away to cities; the remaining people frequently mention relatives and acquaintances who live in Dayton or elsewhere. Though some white farmers are buying land in the area, the colored people form a closed group since they are recognized as colored by the whites and since they are rather proud in their own right and hold themselves aloof from other negroes. The community is, however, full of its own petty jealousies. The people are aware of their lightness of complexion and speak with pride of the fact that many of their relatives have successfully passed as white. The chief names of the people of this group are Clemens, Bass, Burden, Epps, and Goins.

The old land records of Darke County show that the colored people were the first settlers on some of this land, obtaining it directly from the United States Government. The earliest records involving their names are dated 1822 (3). The people are said to have come from various places, the first from Virginia, which they left to escape the discrimination practiced against free negroes (4). Others are thought to have joined the group from other localities. The present residents claim

(2) Frazer E. Wilson, History of Darke County (Milford, Ohio: Hobart Publishing Co., 1914), 554.
(3) Darke County Plat Books, Courthouse, Greenville, Ohio.
(4) Wilson, op. cit.; E.Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 222.

to know little of the history, but they do agree on a diverse origin. Table 27 summarizes the census records of the group.

This Darke County group is evidently made up of the descendants of a number of families who came from several states to the southeast. Like the Melungeons' ancestors, the source, even of a family, is not localized, nor are the apparent dates of arrival limited to a short period. It is evident that Darke County was a gathering point for free mulattoes from the South, but the histories and tradition give no account of a plan or organization behind the movement. Frazier (5) reports that this colony was a station on the underground railway, but that the residents admitted a reluctance to intermarry with darker negroes. It is evident from the census records as well as from present appearances that no admixture of black negroes can have occurred in quantity.

A complete list of names existing in the present colony is not available, but it seems that this number must be much smaller than was the case in 1850 or 1870. It is quite likely that the people with land have remained in the area, while the others have found it advantageous to move away. The splitting up of the land through inheritance very likely accounts for the small farms; the common surnames are frequently repeated through the area involved. The decline of population is not surprising in any rural area, but the colored people have probably been slower to leave the home than others of the land. Some of the more common names of the Darke County group today are common

(5) Op. cit., 223.

Table 27

Census Records of Free Colored Persons Living in German Township, Darke County, Ohio, and Greensfork Township, Randolph County, Indiana: Number of Families of Specified Name; State of Birth

1840

German Township

159 free colored persons

1850 Mulattoes — Origin

German Township

Clemmons 4 ; Virginia
Burden 1 ; South Carolina
22 Other Names 27; Va., Ky., Tenn., Pa., N.C., S.C., Ala., Ga., Md.

Greensfork Township

Bass 1 ; North Carolina
Burden 2 ; both Carolinas
Goins 1 South Carolina
11 Other Names 13; Va., Tenn., N.C., S.C.

1870 Mulattoes

Darke County

Bass 3 ; both Carolinas
Epps 3 ; both Carolinas, Virginia
Going 4 ; Kentucky, South Carolina
Clemens 1 ; Virginia
Burden 2 ; South Carolina, Tennessee

Total mulatto population: 400

now and historically among mixed peoples in the states from which the group was derived. No direct connections have been traced in this study; though Frazier reports an offshoot from the Indian Mound group (6), the names do not appear in the records available to me.

The Issues of Virginia

My visit to the Amherst County area was very brief. This report offers a consideration of the Issues in the light of experience with similar situations in other localities. Two studies have been made of the Issues. The first publicized them as the WINS (White-Indian-NegroeS) in the book "Mongrel Virginians" which analysed the family lines and whose conclusion, following that in the more famous Jukes study, stressed the influence of heredity in the formation of a group mentally and culturally (J) impoverished (7). An M.A. thesis written not long afterward demonstrated the importance of social discrimination and lack of opportunity as causes contributory to their retardation.

Amherst County is situated at the eastern foot of the Blue Ridge, and includes rolling Piedmont land with some higher outliers of the mountains. The farming of the area, which is almost completely rural, is of a general type; specialties include

(6) Op. cit., 221.
(7) Arthur H. Estabrook and Ivan E. McDougle, Mongrel Virginians (Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1926); summary on 198-202.

smoke-cured tobacco, whose sign is the unpainted upright log barn, and apple orchards on the lower mountain slopes. The area is old in its settlement, as are most of the houses; the land is somewhat unkempt, not completely in use, with many of the fences overgrown with vines. Comfort and poverty are not unusual companions in Southern society, and Amherst County shares this characteristic. The proportion of negroes in the population is high, amounting to 30% (8).

The name which the whites and blacks alike have given to the mixed-bloods has been generally used to denote slaves freed before the Civil War; it was originally applied in contempt, implying that the freedmen, like the slaves, could be treated in terms of commodities or securities. The negroes today use the term to carry on the contempt. The Issues (Ishies) themselves do not accept this term (they usually use the non-commital "our people"), nor have they found cause for pride, as some do, in emancipation previous to the Civil War; instead, their refuge is to claim Indian blood when it is necessary to explain non-Caucasian appearance. The negroes also use the term Dominic (for Dominique hens, which are black and white speckled; this designation for mixed peoples has also been reported in Florida (9) and Louisiana (p. 118).

The Issues have formed for the most part a class of farm laborers and croppers as long as people remember, but they have not strictly held to any one line of activity. Today many of

(8) U.S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population, II, part 7, 164.
(9) Federal Writers' Project, Florida (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 445-6.

them are employed on the large apple orchards to the neglect, it is said, of cultivating the farm land in the vicinity of their residences. Many of the women are employed in domestic work.

There is no concentrated settlement of these people, though most of them live within a few miles of a mission church and school built for them by the Episcopalians. The county furnishes a teacher for this "Indian" school; perhaps because of the crystallization of their social status produced by the efforts of the mission to help them (since 1908), the Issues are not accepted by the white people at their schools. The Issues have objected to the prospect of attending the negro schools, and this three-sided school system has resulted. The country around the mission is hilly and not particularly desirable; it is also near the mountain slopes where the apple orchards are located.

Most of the Issues today are rather light in color, and few show kinky hair. The group is thought to be getting whiter through continued mixture with white people, mostly illicit; to this extent the locale serves as a red-light district where white men may be welcomed because of their genes.

The Issues are said to have received virtually no education before the founding of the mission. With attendance at that school, however, their position in the county was stabilized, subject to the minor but continuing disturbance resulting from the contradictions of their position. Stimulated by its

Department of Vital Statistics, the State passed a law clarifying the definition of a negro as one with any ascertainable amount of negro blood. For its part the Department of Vital Statistics undertook to enforce the law, compiling lists of persons with negro blood who were known to belong to families that might try to pass as white or Indian, and insisting that all county clerks and other officials supervising the accomplishment of documents fill them out according to the law. It then became an object among the Issues to avoid the necessity of making out any documents whereon they might have to be classified racially. Whereas the missionary had been pleased with her progress in persuading the Issues to complete the legal requirements of their marriages, the advantages of so doing were more than offset by the new ruling. The situation was intensified in 1940, for draft registration was not so easily avoided as the filling in of a marriage license. The war years resulted in a considerable movement of the Issues to Maryland and New Jersey, whence they could be inducted into the Army as white.

Where 326 had connection with the mission in 1948, it was estimated that 200 had moved away. Those who moved to other areas were frequent visitors in Amherst County; the adjustment to a new home was not easy, even though the old one was inhospitable in some respects. The emigrants, however, were anxious to keep too many of their friends from Amherst from joining them in their new locations. They turned to industrial or

agricultural work. In spite of their long association with the Episcopal Mission, most of the emigrants joined the Methodist Church (which was the local white church in their area), apparently not finding congenial company among the Episcopalians.

No cultural peculiarities were reported for the Issues. One person said that they were like mountain people in their habits and like the negroes in their songs and speech. The common names are Adcock, Branham, Johns, Redcross, and Knuckles.

The origin of the Issues is too remote to be ascertained. It is not certain that they have been derived in just the manner suggested by their name. It is reported that several families of Johnses and Evanses settled on Buffalo River in the central part of the County before 1774; these people were said to be white English settlers (10), but the 1785 census reports six mulatto children for Benjamin Evans; it seems evident that some of the mixing had begun by that date. Free negroes with some of the names above were listed in Amherst County in 1830 (12 families) and 1840 (22 families, including one Evans and 10 Johnses). In 1850 all these were listed as mulattoes; there were 29 families, mostly large, and there were relatively few other mulattoes in the county (in contrast to the 1840 free negro count). These people traced their birth only to Virginia; most were listed as farmers, though laborer,

(10) Louise M. Hix, "Indians of Oronoco, Amherst County, Virginia," (typewritten ms., WPA, Richmond).

carpenter, and bootmaker appeared. The name Redcross appears in a will book in 1801. The Amherst County marriage records show a strong tendency of the group to intermarry; the earliest record of the numerous Branhams involves a marriage to an Evans in 1790. The following quotation is taken from a diary written in 1848: "sold it to a free mulatto living near named Edmund Branham" (11).

The possibility of Indian blood in the group is supported by some tradition among the Issues and specific stories relating to certain ancestors. This report has been accepted by those who have studied the group most closely. The conditions under which the Indian mixing may have occurred are only suggested by stories, one of which concerns Indian trips to or from Washington and states that a few Indians passing by remained for some reason (12). It is plain from the records that the ancestors of the Issues were in the area, partly as non-whites, before there was a Washington and that they have been commonly regarded as free negroes or mulattoes when race was specified. Indians have not been reported in the census records (except for 7 in 1910), but the possibility of Indian blood is not precluded by these facts.

The location of the Issues at the foot of the Blue Ridge is considered significant by some people; but there is no refuge for them in this mountain region at the present, and,

(11) John Jaquelin Ambler, ms. journal (Amherst, 1848), 60.
(12) Conway W. Sams, The Conquest of Virginia: The Forest Primeval (New York: G.P.Putnam's Sons, 1916), 396.

as far as I know, there is no evidence that, as a group, they have lived in the mountains. It seems rather that they have filled an economic niche in the larger society.

The Issues, however, are probably not entirely dissociated from another mixed group which has lived along Irish Creek in the Blue Ridge in Rockbridge County. They have not mixed with the white residents in the Great Valley below, nor have they had much to do with the white mountaineers on the ridges above. A mission has been maintained among these people, and their school, which is classed as white, has about 50 pupils. The colored strain is weak in this group now. They can attend the white high schools, and they went into the army as white. Tradition ascribes their origin to the settlement of the Creek by three families of squatters - white, negro, and Indian. The group live as mountaineers; with the decline of the soils and the disappearance of the chestnuts they once picked, some have moved out in recent years. Some small timber is shipped out for paper wood.

The names of the Irish Creek people appear as mulattoes in early censuses: in 1850, Sorrel, Evans, Ailstock, Clark, and Nukles, but they appear to be scattered. The Rockbridge County land books show a Clark on Irish Creek in 1847 (13).

These people now occupy and own an area; the Issues are mostly rural laborers without land. It is likely that this

(13) County Courthouse, Lexington, Virginia.

difference has persisted for a long time. It is even conceivable that the two groups had a common origin, but split in the two directions into such different social conditions that they never grew together again.

Indian Mound, Tennessee

A small mixed group has lived in a valley near the village of Indian Mound, Tennessee, for a long time. Indian Mound is in a larger valley formed by a tributary of the Cumberland River, one of many which have dissected deeply the Highland Rim within a few miles of the river.

Only one or two families of the mixed group are left near Indian Mound now. The people of Stewart County variously consider them as mixed negroes and as Indians. The families claim a strong strain of Cherokee blood and directly preserved historical knowledge of the migration of their ancestors from the Cherokee country by way of Rutherford County. They are not excluded from white institutions in the area, and they are accepted as white and Indian by most of their immediate neighbors. They live as farmers, neither well-to-do nor impoverished, as is the standard for the area. Fields of corn and tobacco in the valley furnish their livelihood. The man to whom I talked could, by his general appearance, well support his claim to Indian ancestry without negro blood. Frazier, however, reports that some of the group connections have joined with the negroes(14).

(14) Op. cit., 220-221.

The names characteristic of this group are Moore and Moreland, the latter having been derived from the former, according to tradition, when one of the family in Stewart County acquired a parcel of land (15); only the Moreland name is left today. These people were listed in the old censuses as free negroes and mulattoes; in 1830 there were a Moore, three Moors, and a Morland in the County. In 1870 two Morlands both claimed Tennessee birth, but twenty years before, of three Morelands and two Moores, one of each claimed North Carolina birth, while the "M" (for mulatto) had been crossed out after the name of one family of Moores. The name Moore is, of course, on the Melungeon list, but there is hardly the evidence here to link these groups with any degree of probability. One of two free colored families in Rutherford County in 1810 was headed by Edward Moreland; evidently the suffix "-land" pre-dated settlement in Stewart County. Frazier links the Indian Mound people with the Darke County group on the basis that the former had a tradition of a migration to Ohio and the latter of an immigrant from Tennessee (16); he also mentions a coincidence of names to make the conclusion rather convincing (17).

Clinton County, Pennsylvania

The site of a backward group of mixed origin was visited

(15) Ibid., 218.
(16) Ibid., 221.
(17) Personal communication, Oct. 28, 1947.

on the top of Keating Mountain in Clinton County, Pennsylvania, a high section of the Appalachian Plateau overlooking the gorge of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River. The group is composed of about 200 people and provides most of the children attending the school in the township. The people have lived by farming, lumbering, or mining (a large coal stripping operation proceeds near-by). Some people think Indian blood is present, but more consider the group to be entirely a negro-white mixture. A romantic story is told about an affair between an Indian and a negro, but the usual theory is that they came to the area by way of the Underground Railway or during the Civil War. The common names are Smoke, Gains, and Teats.

The record shows that the group is older than the theory would suggest, for free negroes named Smoke and Gains are listed for the area in 1830. The Smoke, who was over 100 years old (?) and had a family of 10, was the only free negro by that name in the country. Two Gains families were listed; free negroes named Gains were found in other places, but they were rather rare too. A cemetery on top of the Mountain shows on the stones names of other people of Civil War time whose descendants are not living on the Mountain today; these people are said to have been white.

The Smokes and Gainses have scattered somewhat recently, but they are still a distinct group.

The Creoles of Van Cleave, Mississippi

Van Cleave, Mississippi, lies 12 miles north of the Gulf Coast port of Pascagoula where the flatwoods of the coastal border give way to slightly rolling topography and the black sluggish streams flow between sandy banks several feet high. This pine country still leaves pickings for an occasional lumber outfit, and general farming may replace the grazing on red clay surfaces.

As long as anyone remembers, a group of mixed people, locally called Creoles, has lived in the vicinity of Van Cleave (population 350), the trading center of the area. Through word handed down from parents and grandparents of present residents their existence is pushed back well over a hundred years, probably to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Their number today is probably between 200 and 300. The group is possibly of French extraction, but most of the names are English - Bang, Bigot, Bobbinger, Carroll, Ely, Belton, Dobson, Ladanier, Page, Shoemaker, and Tanner - and the religion is Baptist or Holiness. None of the Creoles is very dark in complexion, but most of them show an unquestionable alien tinge. Their physical traits vary greatly, however, and no definite type is discernible. Some would not be distinguished from whites. In Van Cleave, however, they have always been kept apart; as laborers in sheep-herding activities, they never expected to join the others at the dinner table. They have never been admitted to the white schools, and, when school attendance was

demanded of their children, they have refused to permit them to attend the colored schools. They were granted a special school (Live Oak Pond School, six miles north of Van Cleave) in the 1920's. Any of them who had identifiable negro blood were, at least for a time, excluded even from this. They have never shown much interest in education and have the reputation of being unable to remember anything they have learned.

Most of the Creoles live in two localities. One is around the school where there are now only three or four families engaged in a simple type of farming. More are said to have lived there in the past; aside from these small farms the open cut-over lands in the vicinity are used only for grazing. The other Creoles, whose income is derived largely from forest industries, live in a cluster on the northeast side of Van Cleave; a cluster here is not like a city block, for space is plentiful; the houses may be several hundred feet apart, concealed from one another by trees, and usually off the roads. The homes, built of whatever materials were convenient, are said to have been built in part from war-time earnings. This community has recently constructed a Holiness church, which has attracted many of the members from the traditional Baptist leaning. Their Baptist church, separate from white and negro, is located a mile or two north of Van Cleave; like the Holiness church, it is made of unpainted boards; the Creole cemetery adjoins it (Fig. 53); their funerals are said to be occasions of great ceremony.

Fig. 53.Creole cemetery adjacent to their Baptist church, Van Cleave, Mississippi.

Fig. 54. The woman on the left is one of the Creole group now residing in Biloxi. She unsuccessfully pressed an Indian claim a few years ago.

Fig. 55. Brown's Branch, a typical Kentucky Mountain habitation.

Many of the Creoles have moved away in recent years, mostly to Biloxi and Gulfport, where many of them have been able to pass as white (Fig. 54). Another reported change has been conversion to Catholicism in order to get the children into un-segregated parochial schools.

The Creoles are considered to be very superstitious. Some personal property is usually buried with the dead; a baby is always buried wearing a cap. Until recently they have made use of many herb cures such as horsemint for measles, red oak bark for kidney troubles, hiveweed for sick babies, alder root for eczema, Sampson snakeroot and black snakeroot for colic. These are common cures among the people in their part of the country.

Opinions differ as to whether the Creoles used to speak French. Since some people claim positive remembrance of the use of French by some of the older Creoles, that story will be accepted here. Some of the Creoles with whom I talked did not understand English very well. Some of their speech traits are jokes among the local whites; the housewife on her way to the store is going to "make" some groceries. Their use of names is identical with a reported practice among several other similar groups: the son of Bob Bang is likely to be known as Sam Bob.

One of the Creoles (now living in Biloxi), who claimed to be 83 years old, simply described the group's ancestry as "all mixed up." She claimed that her mother was Spanish and Indian

and her father was Dutch or German. She had tried unsuccessfully to get an Indian claim in Oklahoma and thought that her efforts would have succeeded but for the intervention of someone not concerned. A resident of Van Cleave essentially confirmed this story, making her mother a Ladanier (and hence French?) and her father a Dutch captain of one of the schooners which used to come to Van Cleave by way of a tidewater stream, now silted up, to pick up charcoal bound for New Orleans. The dates of this schooner trade are hard to determine, but seem to have extended at least from the Civil War to 1900. The Van Cleave citizens are agreed that the relationship of the Creoles to the schooner arrivals is one of effect to cause. We may then imagine a small mixed group, a product of French occupation of the area, which grew by contact with the schooner crews, picking up English names and ways in the process, their alien blood becoming more dilute. Mixed negroes of French background are not unusual in the Gulf Coast cities; in the rural society of Van Cleave, such people could be more easily identified. The Creoles seem to pre-date the highly commercialized lumber camp era of the South, which might not have left such clear traces behind.

The census records of 1820 and 1830 give us little information. In 1850 a few mulattoes were reported in Jackson County. One man, white, of French birth, named Bigot (still pronounced among the Creoles according to the French method) was apparently living with a mulatto woman of French name. Another of the

mulattoes, a farmer of Mississippi birth, was named Ely. The other names common among the Creoles were not reported. It must be concluded that this Creole group, in the sense in which it exists today, is of relatively recent origin.

Mixed Peoples of Eastern Kentucky

It was thought possible at the beginning of the field work that new mixed groups, previously not described, might be located by inquiry. In general little was turned up by random inquiry; the peoples studied had either been mentioned (vaguely at least) in the literature or were related to the larger groups being examined and were found in following the clues already under consideration. Inquiry of the random sort was concentrated especially in eastern Kentucky where I had noticed many people who appeared mixed; apparently most of these are associated with the recent influx of labor to the coal fields and other industries, and do not make up native classes or social groups.

A Brown family was reported in Knox County, Kentucky, living on Brown's Branch of the Middle Fork of Stinking Creek. These people are variously said to have Indian or Portuguese blood, but mixture has certainly eliminated, for the most part, any peculiarity of appearance which might have existed. The Brown family is well known in Barbourville for its perennial poverty and need for help from the welfare agencies. During the depression this single branch is said to have housed 32 families; the number is only 11 today. The present habitation

mulattoes, a farmer of Mississippi birth, was named Ely. The other names common among the Creoles were not reported. It must be concluded that this Creole group, in the sense in which it exists today, is of relatively recent origin.

Mixed Peoples of Eastern Kentucky

It was thought possible at the beginning of the field work that new mixed groups, previously not described, might be located by inquiry. In general little was turned up by random inquiry; the peoples studied had either been mentioned (vaguely at least) in the literature or were related to the larger groups being examined and were found in following the clues already under consideration. Inquiry of the random sort was concentrated especially in eastern Kentucky where I had noticed many people who appeared mixed; apparently most of these are associated with the recent influx of labor to the coal fields and other industries, and do not make up native classes or social groups.

A Brown family was reported in Knox County, Kentucky, living on Brown's Branch of the Middle Fork of Stinking Creek. These people are variously said to have Indian or Portuguese blood, but mixture has certainly eliminated, for the most part, any peculiarity of appearance which might have existed. The Brown family is well known in Barbourville for its perennial poverty and need for help from the welfare agencies. During the depression this single branch is said to have housed 32 families; the number is only 11 today. The present habitation

is Kentucky Mountain life at very nearly its worst. Brown's branch flows through a narrow V-shaped valley about a mile long with its outlet on Middle Fork, along which runs a graveled road in good condition. The only places for corn occur on the thin soils of the hill slopes or on very narrow strips at their bases (Fig. 55); the little stream below flows over a rocky bed. Scars on the upper slopes show where coal has been mined for home use. Several families were in evidence at the time of my visit; the head of one was tending an open fire over which was a kettle containing in its water a few glass jars of fruit. Other families were sitting on the porch. Very few of the people bore any suggestion of Indian blood or other sign of descent from races with pigmented skin. The Browns were said to have originated in that area when three brothers, who were part Indian, came from North Carolina. One of them obtained the land by marriage and the families multiplied. Another family closely associated with the Browns bore the name of Messer or Misser. It is interesting that, in spite of their poverty and reputation for immorality in the county, the patriarchs on Brown's Branch share with others in the Appalachians a dignity which commands the respect of the visitor.

The results of inquiry in other eastern Kentucky counties often produced a few names of local families who claimed or were believed to have Indian ancestry. Some of these names are listed below; it is interesting that some of them occur in more than one locality and that some of them are Melungeon or

Magoffin County names. There is the suggestion that we may be dealing with vaguely defined groups of people or with families that have spread through the country:

Knox County - Brown, Messer, Bingham
Knott County - Mosely, Hale, Harmon, Collins, Williams, Sizemore
Johnson County - Wiley, Dale, Collins
Owsley County - Dean
Floyd County - Mosley
Bell County - Sizemore, Womble, Messer
Lawrence County - McKenzie

XI

OBSERVATIONS ON PUBLISHED REPORTS OF MIXED GROUPS NOT STUDIED IN THE FIELD

This study of mixed groups would not be complete without including, for comparative purposes, summaries of the literature on other important peoples of the same type. The results of these summaries may be applicable to general conclusions concerning the mixed-bloods.

Croatans of North Carolina

The largest and best known of the mixed groups in the United States is found in Robeson County, North Carolina; it has given rise to an abundant literature. Very little is reported of the history of these people before the Civil War, but one Henry Lowry helped make the group famous about that time by his exploits as a bandit or Robin Hood of some sort (1).

After this time the rumor was spread that these people were mixtures of whites and Indians descended from members of the Lost Colony of Sir Walter Raleigh (2). It is not definitely known whether this story was based on tribal tradition or on an outside suggestion they eagerly grasped as a means of achieving the status accorded a noble ancestry. Some modern evidence would point to the latter condition. At any rate the people found a champion in Hamilton McMillan, a member of the

(1) Guy B. Johnson, "Personality in aWhite-Negro-Indian Community," American Sociological Review, IV (Aug., 1939), 517-8.
(2) Ibid., 520.

North Carolina legislature, who (no doubt to his own benefit in terms of popularity among his constituents) published a booklet attempting to trace the history of these people (3) and persuaded the Legislature to make them, by act, the Croatan Indians (4) (Croatan is the place to which the Roanoke Island colony is supposed to have repaired) in memory of their notable past.

Much material has been written on this subject, little of it as thorough as McMillan's study, too much of it in poetic vein. An example came from a Britisher reportedly hiking through North Carolina (which he describes as a veritable Switzerland !), who took refuge with one of the Indians when a downpour occurred (5). He was amazed to find this handsome Indian a fellow countryman in culture, cooking his meal over the blazing open fire of his comfortable home, which was decked with such treasures as an old Saxon cross-bow and a "chequered" counterpane being spun from home-raised wool. The man was greatly embittered about the treatment received from the whites, but told again the story of the migration from Roanoke Island. This trail was later followed by the writer of the article, who noted all along the way the growth of the scuppernong, a grape peculiar to Roanoke Island until it was carried by the members

(3) Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony (Revised edition, Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1907) (earlier edition, 1888).
(4) Stephen B. Weeks, "The Lost Colony of Roanoke: its Fate and Survival," Papers of the American Historical Association, V (1891), 465.
(5) G.Cunningham Terry, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony of Roanoke," Blackwood's, CXCIV (Sept., 1913), 320-8.

of the lost colony on their trek. The usual Chaucerian speech forms were quoted, but they seem to be common to many backward people in Anglo-America, including negroes.

However the Croatan name was started, its official adoption did not bring prestige, but rather served to associate it with the contempt with which the group was already regarded. As the name acquired such a connotation, its objects came to abhor it and prevailed on the Legislature to make them the "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County," a title which some desire to replace now with "Siouan Indians" (6).

With this legal basis, the census has retained a separate classification for the Croatans. The Croatans can thus be numbered with relatively great accuracy. In 1940 the population was approximately 16,629 (7). This figure and the age ratios of the population are evidences of rapid growth, as is pointed out by R. M. Harper (8).

The Croatans today are reported as small-scale farmers, skilled in the cultivation of cotton, corn, and tobacco (9). They form the majority of people in some parts of Robeson County, but the town and administrative life is dominated by white people. The Croatans have separate schools, even a special State Teachers' College for their people at Pembroke (10). The

(6) Johnson, op. cit., 520.
(7) Figure given for "other races" in Robeson County, Sixteenth Census of the U.S., Population, II, part 5, 300.
(8) "A Statistical Study of the Croatans," Rural Sociology, II(Dec., 1937), 444-56; "The Most Prolific People in the United States," Eugenical News, XXIII (April, 1938), 29-31.
(9) Gilbert, "Memorandum....," 440.
(10) Johnson, op. cit., 519.

people are not well pleased with their situation, and ill-feeling exists between them and the white group, whom they consider unfair.

It is estimated by a recent student that this mixed group is actually very low in Indian blood, but that Indian ancestry has had to be emphasized in order to avoid the less desirable admission of negro ancestry (11). Moreover anthropometric measurements indicate only a minority of any marked Indian types (12). Another sociologist acquainted with them reports very little interest in or apparent knowledge of any Indian tradition except among certain leaders who would use it to build a group spirit. It is understood that a smaller group of people known as Lumbees live on the other side of the Lumber River and hold themselves aloof from the Croatans, whom they consider to be tainted with negro blood.

McMillan tries to build a case for the continuity of a white or partly white group from the time of the Roanoke colony to the much later recognition of the Croatans. His references to blue-eyed or auburn-haired Indians are drawn from a great stock of such reports, the first of which even preceded the founding of the Roanoke colony (13). Swanton's discussion of the background of Indian movements in the area rather convincingly discards the Roanoke Island theory and concludes that the Croatans probably retain blood of some of the Siouan tribes

(11) Ibid., 519.
(12) Gilbert, "Memorandum ....," 440.
(13) Weeks, op. cit., 444.

who were aboriginal through the central Carolinas (14). Johnson (15) indicates that an unusual English-speaking group was found in Bladen (then including Robeson) County by the first Scotch-Irish settlers in the early 1730's; Swanton (16) quotes a report of 1754 which stated that Bladen County had no Indians, but did contain a considerable group who were considered as outlaws.

McMillan (17) continues his argument with a study of the names, stating that over 40% of the names reported as belonging to members of Raleigh's colony were found in Robeson County and other counties at the time of his article (though he does not specify that they belonged to the Croatans). Just how these names might have been preserved during all the long history has not been suggested; most of them, as a matter of fact, were common English names, while the most common Croatan names today are not included in the list. McMillan's list contains 119 persons bearing 92 surnames, 42 of which he indicates were borne by persons in his North Carolina area. If these names are derived from the lost colony, they are presumably old names in Robeson County, but in 1790 only 20 such names were listed in the census for white people and three for negroes; in 1830, seven of the names were borne by free colored persons, a

(14) J.R. Swanton, "Probable Identity of the Croatan Indians," Senate Reports, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session, Calendar No.229, Report No. 204 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), 3-6.
(15) Op. cit.
(16) Op. cit., 5.
(17) Op. cit., 35.

classification which included the Croatan ancestors. By way of comparison, Martin County, North Carolina (with fewer families than Robeson County) had 20 of these names in its 1790 list.

Though the 1830 census included only nine free colored families bearing seven of the names from the lost colony (the small number per name indicating that they had not been in the area a long time), it listed 100 free colored families bearing seven other names: Lowrie, Lockliar, Dyal, Revels, Oxendine, Strickland, and Braveboy. The 1790 list contained 65 families with free colored members; the name of Lockliar occurred frequently, others being Oxendine, Braveboy, Lowrie, Revels, Chavers, and Cumbo. A recent list of 274 members of this group or presumably related peoples includes 57 surnames (18). Only seven of the names, involving 32 individuals correspond with those from the lost colony. Over half the people came from the following families, each with the percentage given: Locklear 17.2, Oxendine 13.2, Lowrie, 9.1, Sampson 5.8, Chavis 4.7, Dial 4.0, Maynor 3.6. Some of these names also have their duplicates among similar groups in South Carolina, which will be described next. McMillan's name study appears to be valueless in any attempt to link the Croatans to the lost colony.

The origin of the Croatans may have a relation to the possibility of refuge in the extensive marshes along the streams

(18) Lists of students at Pembroke State College, taken from Catalog II, No. 4, June, 1949.

which have developed in the Coastal Plain. Johnson indicates that they were living in such a habitat in the 1730's (19).

I can make no suggestions as to the Croatan origin other than the rather obvious comment that the strong negro element reported is probably related to previous servitude. If the negro element is there today, the designation as free colored in 1790 and 1830 was probably partly correct. We cannot be sure that the group sprang from diverse origin, but it is evident that it sprang from a much smaller population than is found today. It is interesting that the density of free negroes in 1830 was greater in Robeson County than in any other county in the southern half of North Carolina (20). Evidently whatever aberration resulted in the Croatans had a quantitative as well as a qualitative aspect. Whether this process was immigration, a conservative lack of emigration, fertility, or simply an early start is an unanswered question.

Smaller numbers of Croatans are reported in Bladen, Columbus, Cumberland, Scotland, and Hoke Counties in North Carolina, as well as the South Carolina counties of Sumter, Marlboro, and Dillon (21).

Mixed Groups of South Carolina

Most of the current information on the South Carolina groups is the result of a single year-long study by Berry.

(19) Op. cit., 517.
(20) E.Franklin Frazier, The Free Negro Family, (Fisk University Press, Nashville, 1932), Map II, 24.
(21) Swanton, op. cit., 3.

Nineteen small mixed groups were located in various parts of the Coastal Plain (22). These peoples have characteristics very much in common, and, for present purposes, can be treated as a unit. Their total number is estimated at between 5000 and 10000 (23).

None of these groups seems markedly rich in Indian blood, and many of them are very nearly white. They have characteristically formed societies of a marginal nature with agricultural labor as the usual type of employment. They usually live apart from other groups in rural settings with their own clusters of shacks; few of them farm on their own or live by providing any specialized services within their communities; they do not operate stores, but commonly purchase their needs elsewhere.

The counties have found it expedient to provide special schools for these mixed peoples, usually listing them as white, but such schools are normally attended exclusively by members of the mixed groups. The farmers who employ them know that they must not be put to work in the same fields with negroes. The degree of their segregation from the whites varies from place to place with regard to such customs as seating in churches and theatres and service at stores. The people are pushing themselves toward the white camp racially and socially whenever an opportunity presents itself. They strictly refrain from relations with negroes, but illicit relations with whites may be

(22) Berry, op. cit., 39.
(23) Ibid., 34-5.

welcomed. Many undoubtedly leave the groups to pass elsewhere as white. Children and adults are listed on official records as white whenever they can effect it without being challenged.

Berry (24) believes that eventually such groups in South Carolina will join the white population, for they mix only with whites and they are openly obtaining white privileges.

Characteristic names occur for the mixed people in individual counties. Within a county a certain name may be sufficient to make one a mixed-blood. In another county the mixed-bloods may have different names, while whites may have the name referred to in the first case. Some of these South Carolina peoples have the same names as the Croatans, and some of the names tend to run through a group of counties. In the counties for which current name data are available, the same surnames appear among free negroes in the censuses of 1790 (25) and 1830.

A selected list of names from various South Carolina counties follows. Several of these names have been encountered above in various places: Driggers, Russell, Braveboy, Swett, Scott, Shavers, Williams, Bunch, Harmon (26).

The names given to the groups vary from county to county. The following are reported: Redbones (Richland County), Redlegs (Orangeburg), Brass Ankles (Orangeburg, Dorchester, Colleton, Berkeley, Charleston), Turks (Sumter), Buckheads (Bamberg),

(24) Ibid., 41.
(25) Ibid., 37.
(26) Ibid.

Croatans (Marlboro, Dillon, Marion, Henry), Marlboro Blues (Chesterfield County), Greeks, Portuguese, Clay-Eaters, Yellow Hammers, Summerville Indians, Creels, Chavises, Goins, and Bones; the last four were the commonest family names applied to the group (27). Of these names, Brass Ankle is probably the most common; it may be derived from the old practice of shackling slaves by ankle bands; hence it may express the contempt felt for one who had slave ancestry. The Turks of Sumter County are said to be descended from laborers imported from Turkey by General Thomas Sumter (28); one of these from whom all claim descent is said to have served in the Revolutionary Army as his personal servant and to have shot a man who called him a negro; the story goes that the court upheld his action as being entirely justified; the implication for the curious researcher of the present is discouraging. The repetition of the term Redbone in Louisiana has already been discussed in V.

Berry suggests that the survivors of the many bands of Indians in the Coastal Plain who were thought to have been exterminated actually managed to hide in the swamps and served as nuclei for the accumulation of negro and white blood which has produced the present groups (29). Whereas, in the case of the Melungeons, we were able to show that the common names of the group could be accounted for by immigration from elsewhere

(27) Ibid., 34-35.
(28) Ibid., 35.
(29) Ibid., 41.

and thereby discount likelihood of any local Indian nucleus, that is not so easily done with these South Carolina peoples. That persons considered as free negroes had a part in the ancestry and names is our definite fact; but the possibility of local Indian blood is not thereby disproven.

The Moors and Nanticokes of Delaware

Two mixed groups, probably related to one another, are found in Delaware. The Moors, numbering about 500, live in the center of the state in a suburb of Dover, and the Nanticokes, numbering about 700, live in the southeast part of the state near the estuary of the Indian River. These groups have been thoroughly described in a recent book (30).

These two groups have kept to themselves for the most part. Most of their children attend special schools for the mixed-bloods, and an assortment of these schools is the result of various internal troubles and misunderstanding with the officials and others concerned. The Moors live in the town of Cheswold in a cluster of houses described as "on the wrong side of the tracks," and support themselves from wage jobs of various sorts. The Nanticokes have held on to the land which they occupy in the Indian River Hundred, and their farm land forms the heart of the settlement; they are apparently farmers

(30) C.A. Weslager, Delaware's Forgotten Folk, (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1943).

of very modest means.

Some of the photographs presented in Weslager's book show people of undoubted negroid characteristics. The presence of some Indian blood is quite likely also, though marked Indian types are not conspicuous. The term Nanticoke is the name of an old Indian tribe which has been retained, though no strong tribal feeling or tradition has persisted. Attempts to revive the Indian birthright through the formation of the Nanticoke Indian Association seem to have been largely the work of a few leaders, some of whom have come from outside the group.

Weslager makes an attempt to trace the group's continuity with the Indians, but no gaps are actually filled between the Indian history, which terminated long ago, and the Moor and Nanticoke history which has been recorded for only a century. The Nanticokes have lived a simple rural life, and their economy has involved much of the lore of the backwoods farmer and of the woods and streams - use of the materials at hand to make simple devices or preparations for raising, storing, or preparing foods, catching fish, or curing minor ills. These techniques have been carefully examined by an expert on Indian lore and have been shown to include a surprising number of Indian culture traits (31). Has it not, however, been characteristic of the settlement of people of simple economy in America that they adopted many of the ways of the natives whose land they took over? It does not seem unusual to find that

(31) Frank G. Speck, "The Nanticoke Community of Delaware," Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, II (1915), No. 4.

simple people use Indian techniques, but it does not follow that they picked them up directly from the Indians themselves. In this case in particular, no effort is made by Speck to show that the assemblage of techniques in use belonged to the native Algonkian tribes whom the Europeans forced out of the region. These culture survivals, then, do not present a conclusive case for the descent of the Moors and Nanticokes from the native Indian tribes of the area. Another practice reported by Speck is that of calling children "Levin's Isaac," "Eliza Ann's Jane," etc.

The names common among the Moors are Carter, Dean, Durham, Hanzer, Hughes, Mosley, Munce, Reed, Ridgway, and Sammons; and those among the Nanticokes Burke, Burton, Clark, Drain, Hanzer, Harmon, Hill, Jackson, Johnson, Kimney, Morris, Moseley, Norwood, Reed, Ridgway, Sockum, Street, Thompson, and Wright.

Weslager (32), on the basis that these names were found on tax lists of white people in 1785 and 1822 in the hundreds now inhabited by the mixed-bloods, and on the basis that they are found among whites in other parts of the peninsula today, concludes that the names were derived from white people (the Anglo-Saxon names commonly are) of the area and that the primary mixing was between white and Indian, the negro blood having been acquired later; for the latter point his case is not convincing, though it would be interesting to obtain any evidence. Twelve out of thirteen of these names compared with

(32) Op. cit., 77, 134.

the free colored population of 1830 were matched. There seems to be no reason to doubt that the ancestors of the Delaware mixed-bloods, like those of so many others, were considered as free persons of color, and have probably not been considered as white for a long time.

An eye deformity crops out among certain families, giving rise to the phrase "little-eye people" (33); this is apparently designated by Gates (34) as a combination of epicanthus and ptosis, which is frequently inherited as a dominant with an occasional skip.

Wesorts of Southern Maryland

Charles County, just outside of the District of Columbia, and adjacent parts of Prince Georges and St. Marys Counties in Maryland contain the members of a scattered group known as the Wesorts, whose number is estimated at between 750 and 3000 (35). The Wesorts form a mixed group containing white, negro, and Indian blood; it is said that the Indian blood is very prominent among these people.

The name Wesort is said to be derived from its components in a recognition of group unity, separateness, and superiority: "We sorts are different from you sorts [negroes] ." The Wesorts have no special schools, some attending white and some colored

(33) Op. cit., 15-16.
(34) Op. cit., I, 162.
(35) Gilbert, "The Wesorts of Southern Maryland, an Outcasted Group," Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXXV (Aug. 15, 1945), 237-246.

schools. They are predominantly Catholics, like most of the people of this part of Maryland; at one of the churches they are said to occupy the back benches while the whites sit in front and the negroes sit in the balcony. The Wesorts are predominantly farmers, laborers, and domestic servants. This area of the Maryland Coastal Plain is rather poor for farming, and it has not been intensively developed, though its population is not particularly sparse. Most of the people live near the main north-south highways.

In-marriage has been usual. The Wesort names identified number 26; most of them are found among the 54 family names of free colored people in the 1790 census (36). Incidentally, most of these names were also found among the white people of the area at the same time. There is some evidence that the Wesorts have been migrating to Washington and Baltimore in recent years (37).

Other Groups

Numerous small groups not mentioned above have been located and described in various places. These locations and the group names are shown in Figure 56. Little is known of the details of the groups not already described.

(36) Ibid., 242.
(37) Ibid., 245.

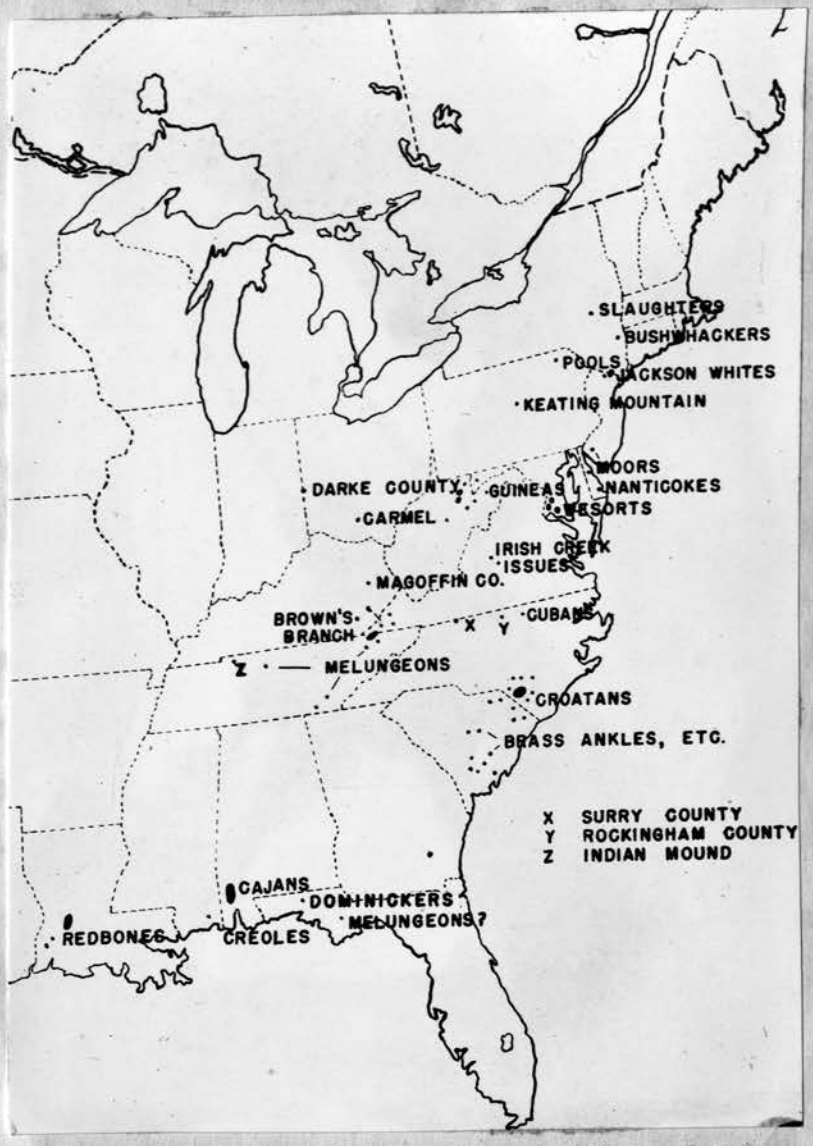


Fig. 56. Localities occupied by mixed-blood strains and islands.

XII

TWO LINES OF INVESTIGATION

In the backgrounds of the mixed-blood groups, two facts have been outstanding: (1) the mixed-bloods were once classified as free negroes; (2) locally the surnames have been the best tracers for these people. It is proposed to explore in this section the further possibilities of these observations.

The position of the free negro in a society composed of free whites and enslaved negroes was awkward and anomalous. He was seldom accorded the privileges which normally accompanied freedom; in many places his presence was discouraged by special taxations and other controls, and sometimes it was expressly prohibited. Even the slaves tended to hold the "free issue" in contempt. Some free negroes, on the other hand, had the opportunity to acquire wealth and even to hold slaves themselves. Undoubtedly the fraction of mulattoes in the free negro population was very high, whereas it was low among the slaves. Some mulattoes were born to freedom from slave fathers, and many were freed because of their paternity by their owners or for other sentimental reason associated with the mixture of blood. And in these particular groups, in later censuses previous to the Civil War, the people were specifically identified as mulatto or even white.

A barrier existed between the free negroes and the slaves in 1865 when the latter were freed. Many cases of its persistence

are to be found. Has it then been the general rule that this barrier should persist? Is it possible that the mixed groups here studied represent only a persistence of that barrier? In the case of the Issues of Virginia the name has evidently been preserved along with the social distinction. And is it possible that a considerable proportion of the pre-Civil War free negroes have maintained a separate society of mixed groups of the sort considered here? This last question can be answered in the negative. The number of free negroes reported in the United States at successive census years follows:

1790	59, 557	1830	319, 599
1800	108, 435	1840	386, 293
1810	186, 446	1850	434, 495
1820	233, 634	1860	488, 070 (1)

The number is seen to be much greater than the number of persons in mixed groups now, to say nothing of the much smaller numbers of direct ancestors of the mixed groups existing at the times of any of the above figures. Figure 57 shows the distribution of free negroes through the country as reported by the census of 1790. This distribution has little relation to the spots where the mixed groups have appeared except where the mixed people were the free negroes.

We are left, then, with two possibilities: either the mixed groups arose from people who were not properly classified as free negroes, or, for some reason, these groups of free negroes

(1) U.S. Bureau of the Census, Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915 (Washington:Government Printing Office, 1918), 53.

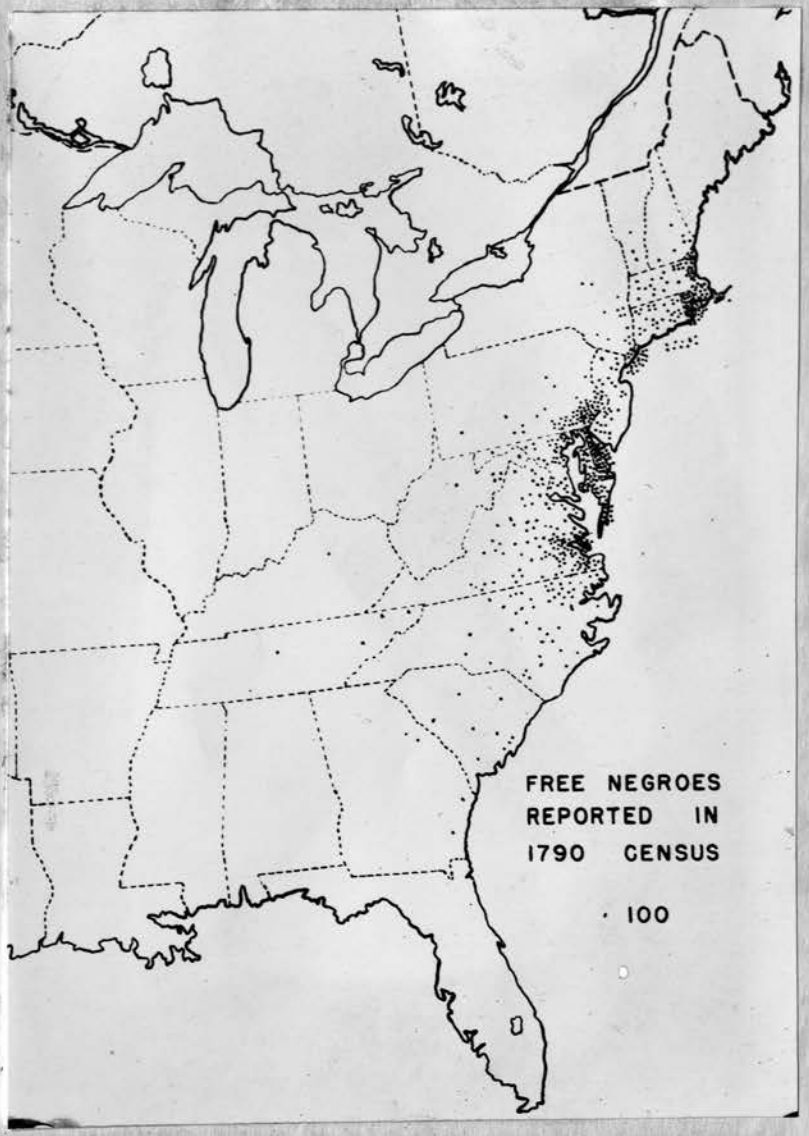


Fig. 57.

took exceptional turns in a few spots to produce the mixed, socially isolated groups of today. Though this choice cannot be positively made, it is discussed elsewhere.

The use of surnames as tracers for these people has been exercised throughout the sections dealing with the individual groups. This use has been exercised with caution, inasmuch as many of the names are very common in the population at large; I have, however, several times yielded to the temptation to point out coincidences of names for further investigation. Though our lack of knowledge of name frequency in segments of a complex differentiated society prevents the application of precise statistical methods in drawing conclusions on the validity of this practice, one or more of the following additional elements was required in any use of identical names in drawing conclusions: (1) that the name be an unusual one; (2) that the situation be local and that the name be known to be significant locally; (3) that free colored persons be involved; (4) that an assemblage of names rather than a single one be involved.

Certainly no one who has studied these groups can fail to be struck by the recurrence of certain names, a recurrence which can safely be said to be far above the probable coincidence if all names at large are considered. The extent of ths coincidence of names is indicated in Table 28. While the list of such coincidences is considerable, it should be remembered that among most of the groups is a preponderance of rather common English names and that these groups date back to a time

Table 28

Coincidence of Surnames among Populations of Mixed Groups

Name	Croatans (15)	S.C. (14)	Melungeons (14)	Magoffin-Carmel (12)	Guineas (11)	Issues (5)	Cajans (10)	Redbones (23)	Darke Co. (5)	Jackson White (6)	Wesorts (10)	Moors (42)
Bell	B	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Braveboy	B	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bunch	-	A	A	-	-	-	-	B	-	-	-	-
Burden	-	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-
Carter	-	-	-	B	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	A
Chavis	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	B	-	-	-	-
Clark	-	-	-	-	-	B	-	A	-	-	-	A
Collins	-	-	A	B	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dial	A	B	-	-	-	-	-	B	-	-	-	-
Epps	-	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-
Gibson	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goins	A	A	A	-	-	-	-	B	A	-	-	-
Hale	-	-	B	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Harmon	-	A	B	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Johnson	B	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	A
Jones	A	-	-	-	A	-	B	-	-	-	-	A
Minor	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mosley	-	-	B	B	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Newman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A
Perkins	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-
Reed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-
Russell	-	A	B	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	A
Scott	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Swett	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thompson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-
Williams	-	A	A	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	A	A
Willis	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wright	-	-	B	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-
								-	-	-	-	A

Number in parentheses after group name indicates the number of present surnames considered for that group.

A - name well known as typical of the group.

B - name of lesser importance or associated with the group only in census records.

when the variety of names in the country was much more restricted than it is today. Most of the coincidences involve the rather common names: Perkins, Reed, Williams, Johnson, Clark, and Collins as examples; for these further information is necessary before any conclusions may be drawn. Other coincidences involve proximate areas such as Robeson County, North Carolina and certain counties of South Carolina; here diffusional connection is quite probable. A few of the less common names such as Goins and Chavis have a wider spread and may even signify a specific link over a wider area. Some likely connections have been demonstrated, but I feel that no general significance can be drawn from the chart for the mixed groups as a whole. The frequency of South Carolina names on the chart is notable, however.

It is now asked whether the names of interest to the study were more frequent in the free colored population than in the population as a whole. Free negroes usually took the names of white people, often the name of the former master, but the exact mechanism is not of great importance for this comparison. In Table 29 are listed a large number of names occurring among the mixed groups along with a few other examples for comparison. In the columns are listed their corresponding frequencies among the free colored population in 1830 and in the population at large in the Middle and Southern States for which we have records from 1790. Unfortunately the information does not make a simultaneous comparison feasible. The variety of names in the

Table 29

Frequency per Thousand Families of Selected Surnames in Stated Population Group

Name	1830 free color	1790 Va.	1790 S.C.	1790 N.C.	1790 Md.	1790 Pa.	1790 N.Y.	1790 Six States
Adams	2.4	2.6	2.9	2.0	2.3	1.5	1.7	2.0
Alexander	.9	.7	1.6	2.3	.9	.9	.2	1.1
Allen	3.1	3.3	1.2	3.4	1.8	1.1	3.1	2.3
Adcox	-	.03	.1	.2	-	.01	-	.1
Anderson	6.1	4.1	5.8	1.7	2.3	2.1	1.1	2.4
Ashworth	.1	.1	-	.04	-	-	-	.02
Baham	.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barnett	.7	.5	1.1	1.0	.8	.5	.2	.6
Bass	1.2	.7	1.0	1.1	-	.03	.04	.4
Bell	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.9	.8	1.2	1.2	1.7
Byrd, etc.	1.5	.8	.8	1.2	.2	.1	.2	.5
Bolen, etc.	.6	.6	.3	.2	.1	.1	-	.2
Braveboy, etc.	.06	-	.1	.04	-	-	-	.02
Brown	15.8	6.5	7.8	6.4	5.8	5.7	7.4	6.2
Buxton	.04	.2	.1	.04	.1	.01	.04	.1
Bidgood	.02	.3	-	-	-	.01	-	.1
Carter	3.2	3.7	2.1	2.5	1.3	.5	.6	1.6
Chavis, etc.	4.2	.2	.2	.2	-	-	-	.1
Clark	3.2	4.4	4.1	3.3	4.4	1.7	2.6	3.4
Cloud	.09	.2	.2	.1	.1	.2	.02	.1
Cole	2.0	.8	1.2	.9	.9	.5	1.8	1.0
Collins	3.5	1.4	1.7	1.9	1.7	.9	.7	1.3
Dalton, etc.	.4	.3	-	.3	-	.04	.1	.1
DeGroat	.3	-	-	-	-	.1	.1	.03
DeFreese, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	.01	.04	.01
Doyle	.06	.1	.1	.02	.2	.3	.04	.1
Driggers	.1	-	.2	.02	-	-	-	.02
Freeman	7.0	7.3	1.0	1.5	.7	.3	.9	.6
Gibson, etc.	1.6	.7	2.3	1.2	.9	1.0	.4	1.0
Goins, etc.	2.8	.5	.4	.1	.03	.04	.01	.1
Hale	.3	.2	.1	.2	.3	.1	.6	.3
Harmon	1.6	.3	.4	.4	.3	.4	.2	.3
Hyatt	.09	-	.04	.3	.3	.01	.5	.2
James	2.9	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.6	.9	.7	1.3
Johnson	17.5	7.2	7.9	7.9	5.3	5.1	4.5	6.1
Jones	12.7	9.6	7.2	10.8	7.2	4.0	3.8	6.7
Kennedy, etc.	.9	.3	1.3	1.0	.4	.3	.4	.6
Lockliar	1.5	-	.04	.2	-	-	-	.04
Maddox	.06	.2	.1	.04	.9	.01	-	.2
Male, etc.	.2	.1	-	-	-	.01	.01	.02
Lowrie	.4	.3	.9	.5	.6	.6	.3	.5
Minor, etc.	.5	.3	.04	.1	-	.04	.1	.1
Moore	4.3	4.2	5.9	5.5	2.7	4.0	2.0	3.8
Moseley	.6	1.1	1.6	.4	.1	.01	.04	.3

Table 29 (cont.)

Frequency per Thousand Families of Selected Surnames in Stated Population Group

Name	1830 free color	1790 Va.	1790 S.C.	1790 N.C.	1790 Md.	1790 Pa.	1790 N.Y.	1790 Six States
Mullins	.2	.5	.1	.2	-	-	-	.1
Nelson	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.0	.7	.5	.2	.7
Newman	1.0	1.0	.6	.3	.4	.5	.4	.5
Norris	.7	.7	.6	.5	1.8	.3	.3	.6
Perkins	.7	.7	.8	.9	.5	.2	.3	.5
Pinder	.2	.03	-	-	.1	.01	.04	.02
Reed	2.6	1.1	1.8	1.5	1.4	2.7	1.3	1.8
Scott	7.0	2.6	2.4	2.0	2.1	2.7	1.3	2.2
Shaver	.4	.6	.1	.1	.8	.5	.5	.5
Smith	15.2	11.2	14.2	13.8	11.5	11.2	17.9	13.3
Strother	.2	.2	.2	.1	-	.03	-	.1
Swett	.26	.03	.3	.1	-	.01	.04	.1
Taylor	3.3	5.1	3.8	5.5	4.2	2.8	3.0	3.9
Ware	.2	.3	.3	.2	.3	.2	.04	.1
Weaver	1.2	.6	.7	.7	.5	2.5	1.1	1.2
Willis	.6	1.0	.3	1.1	.7	.3	.7	.7
Wisby	-	-	-	-	-	.01	-	.004

"etc." after a name indicates inclusion of drastic variations of spelling; the obvious variations are assumed.

The total number of families estimated for each of the divisions of the table is as follows:

Free person of color, 1830	46,900
Virginia, 1790	38,100
South Carolina	26,900
North Carolina	52,800
Maryland	33,600
Pennsylvania	75,100
New York	55,100

country as a whole was probably much greater in the later year; hence the figures given for the white population may be too large for a fair comparison with the other figures; on the other hand, since the colored group chose names from the whites, its selection of names must be smaller. The data, in giving some measure of the name frequencies, are useful for estimating the relative probabilities of coincidence in names among different groups.

Most of the names show a higher frequency in the free colored group of 1830 than in the population as a whole in 1790. Such a condition is not surprising, for the names were chosen for the fact that they occur among colored people; but it is also true of most of the names chosen for comparison. The meanings of such names as Freeman or possibly Brown favor a higher frequency among the colored group. Other names like Chavis, Goins, Harmon, and Scott are much more common among the free colored group. Some of the names among the latter group are mostly limited to the mixed peoples we have studied; examples are Goins, Lockliar, and Male. In some cases the name was missing among the free colored population in the state in which it now occurs. Each of these situations offers suggestions as to the manner in which the name became attached to the people of the mixed group. Some names, such as Bass, Carter, Goins, Johnson, Jones, Moseley, and Mullins (though not Mullin) are significantly more common in the South, while few from the table are more common in the North; again most of the names chosen have been taken from Southern groups, and it is probable that a

greater variety of people settled the Northern States considered.

It is next proposed to examine in detail the distribution of selected names. Inasmuch as the greatest number of mixed groups as well as the closest linkage through coincident surnames occurs in the Carolina-Virginia-Tennessee area, names common among mixed groups in that area will be chosen for examination. These data are presented in a series of dot maps which show the family distributions by a dot for each family head in the county (present boundaries) in which the name occurs. The names have been selected to give a cross-section of types rather than to exhaust the list for any one group. A thorough study of the distribution of these names might be productive, but it is too great for the present work.

Figure 58 shows the distribution of the Collins family in the Carolinas and Virginia in 1790 and of the free colored persons by that name in the United States in 1830. The two features of the name Collins are its important place in the Melungeon group and its common use as an American name. The most striking thing about the distribution of Collinses is the concentration of 31 free colored families in the Melungeon counties (Hawkins and Grainger) of Tennessee. No such concentration of free colored persons of that name exists anywhere else. In addition, the five families in Ashe County, North Carolina, are almost certainly Melungeons, and the other four Tennessee families are very likely Melungeons, making 25% of the free colored families of that name related members of the Melungeon blood. The remaining colored Collinses occur in no striking concentrations, though two-thirds

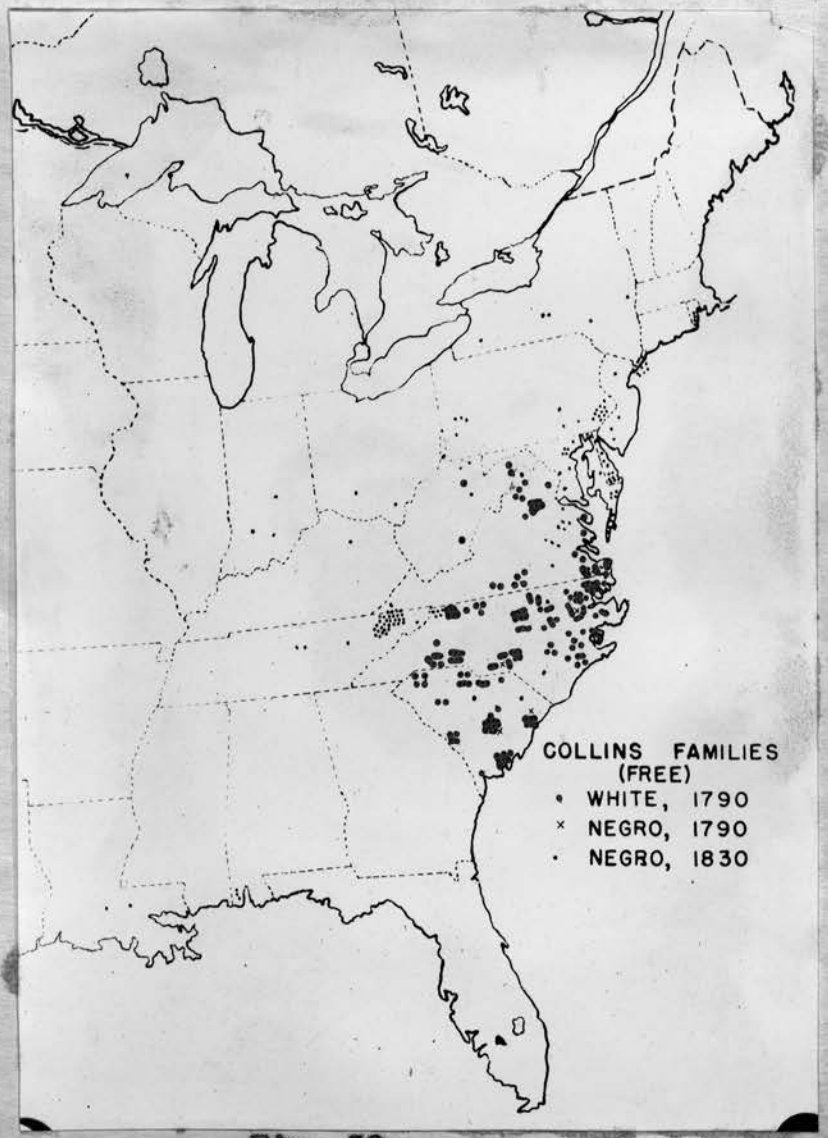


Fig. 58.

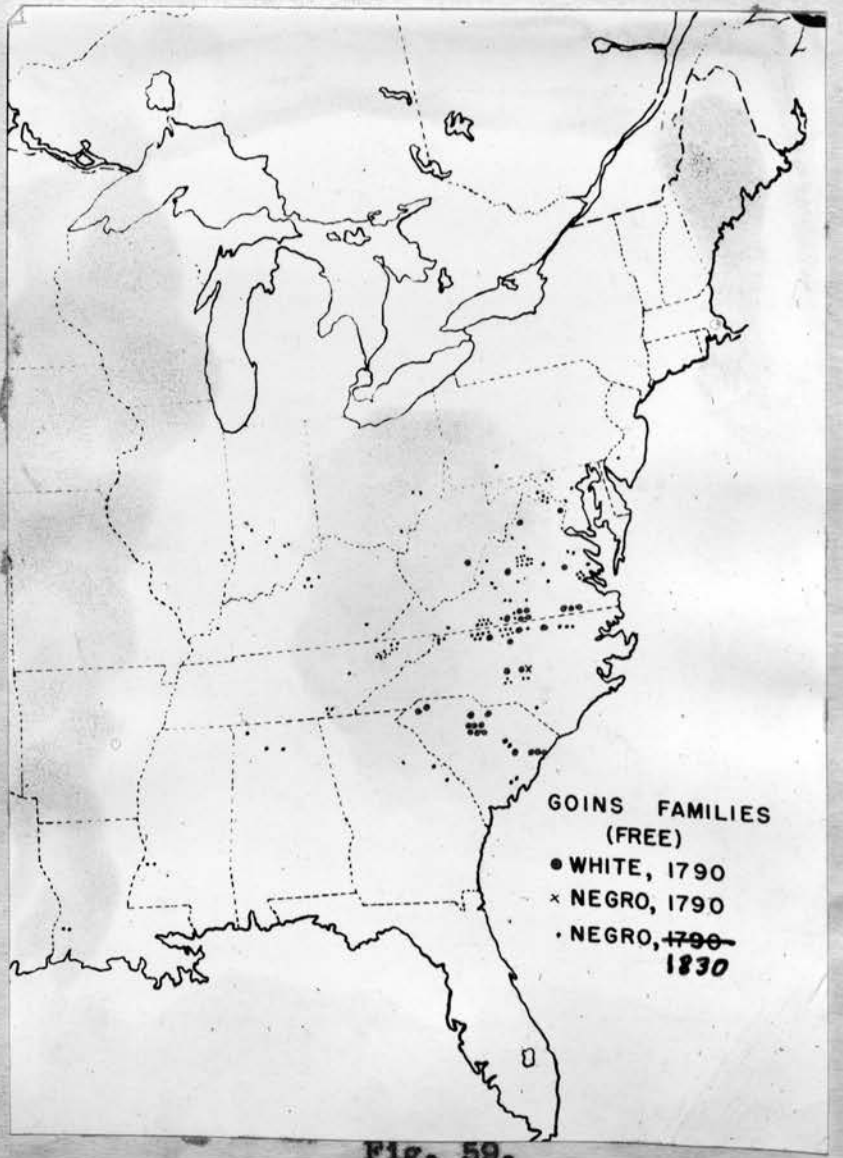


Fig. 59.

1790 data are for the Virginias and Carolinas only; and the Virginia data are actually based on the incomplete state censuses of 1782-85.

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live near the Atlantic Coast. The seven in Sussex County, Delaware, are not known to be associated by name with the Moors; the one in Randolph County, West Virginia is almost certainly a Guinea predecessor; and the three in Mobile County, Alabama, probably belong to the mixed Creoles, but the name is said there to be an Anglicized form of the French Colin, hence not related to the other names. It can only be concluded that the concentration, multiplication, and persistence of the Collins family in northeastern Tennessee has been unusual. Colored Collinses likely originated anywhere that white Collinses held slaves (though it is doubted that the Melungeons had this particular origin), and many of them did in 1790. Very few of the set reported in the Carolinas and Virginia in 1790 were colored and free; the white members shown in Wilkes County, North Carolina, in 1790 are definitely identified with the colored residents later reported in Ashe County. Only five of the nine counties in the Carolinas and Virginia having free colored Collinses in 1830 (not counting Ashe or those Virginia counties not reported in the earlier year) had white people of that name in 1790; in view of the unsettled conditions of the young nation such a fact is hardly surprising. The map makes no clear suggestions as to the source of the Melungeons, but, on the basis of probabilities, the Virginia-Carolina border region looks to be the most likely area; it combines numbers with the advantages of a straight westward movement.

The name Goins (Fig. 59) has two advantages over Collins for

a statistical study of this kind. It is a very distinctive name in this country, and it runs through a surprising cross-section of the mixed groups, including several Melungeon locations, groups in both Carolinas, Darke County, Ohio, and, historically, the Redbones of Louisiana. If any name studied can be used as a frequent tracer of mixed peoples, it should be Goins. It might be added, however, that Goins is also a prominent white name in at least three localities in Tennessee. In 1830 the colored Goinses are seen to be most strongly concentrated along the Virginia-North Carolina border over a distance of 150 miles. The others are scattered. This fact is particularly striking, since the concentration of members of the Collins family also included this area. This same area appears to have had a scattering of Goinses, mostly white in 1790. A present Goins group among the mixed people of South Carolina is found in Williamsburg County; two adjacent counties record whites of the name in the 1790 census. Rockingham County, North Carolina, has a mixed group characterized by the name Goins at the present time.

This partial coincidence of concentration of the names of Collins and Goins suggests an examination of the distribution of the name Gibson (Fig. 60), which ranks with them in importance and priority among the Melungeons. Next to a concentration in the city of Baltimore, the largest number of free colored Gibsons in 1830 was in Hawkins County, Tennessee. Colored Gibsons were not numerous in the areas where so many Goinses

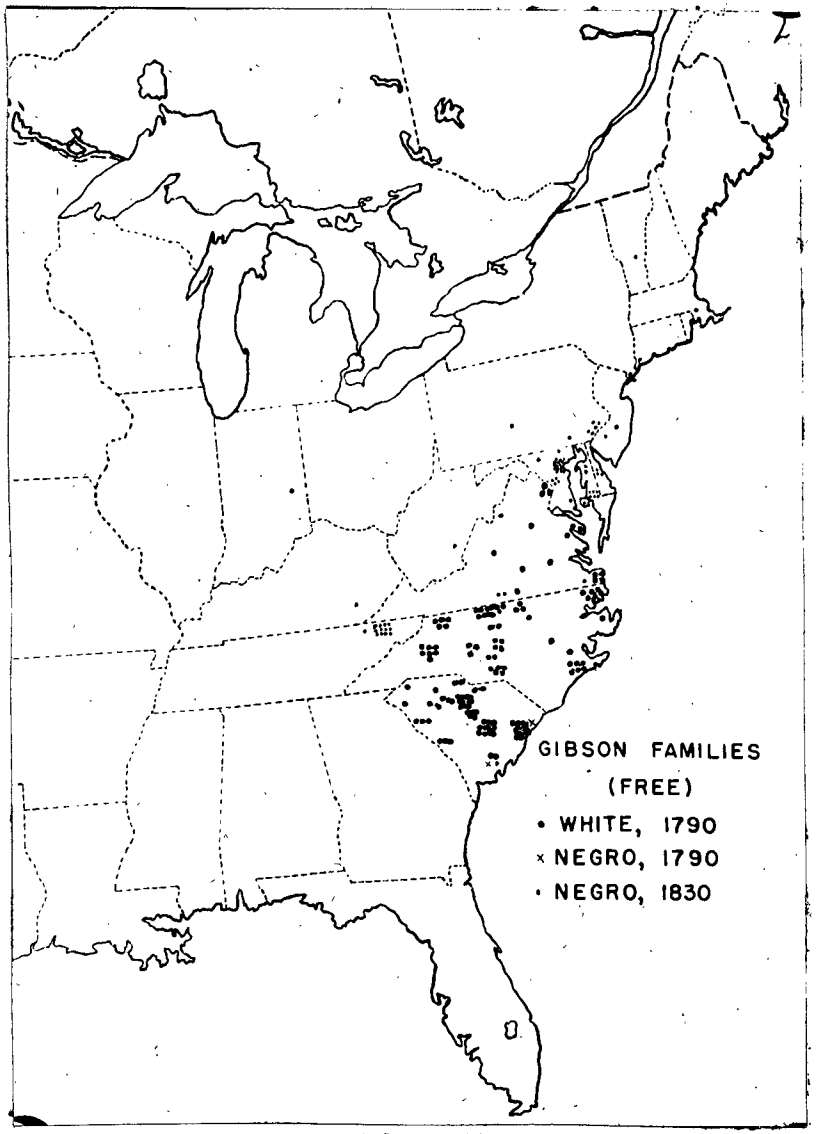

Fig. 60.

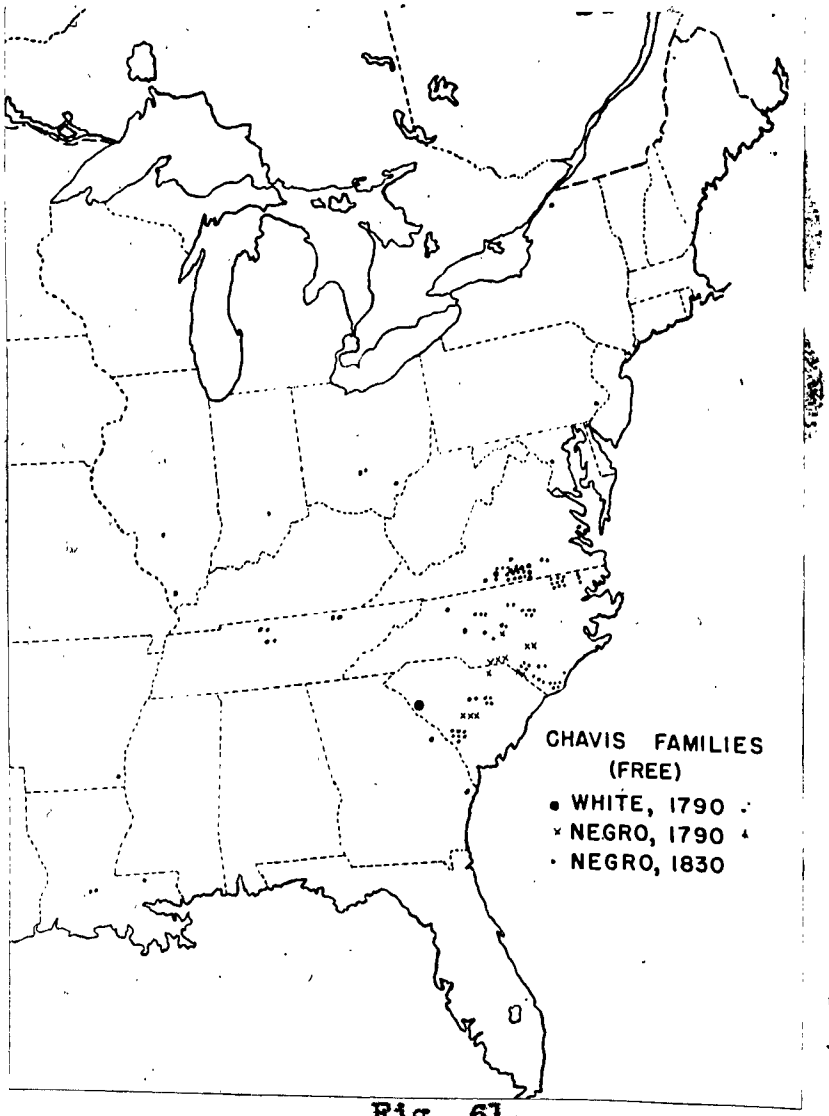

Fig. 61.

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1790 data are for the Virginias and Carolinas only; and the Virginia data are actually based on the incomplete state censuses of 1782-85.

and Collinses were found concentrated, but the three groups are all present in the upper Piedmont counties of the Virginia-Carolina border. If the Melungeons as a group had a home east of the Appalachians, this is a very likely location for it. The mixed groups in this vicinity today may well be remnants of the same ancestors.

Chavis (Fig. 61) is a name similar to Goins in that it appears to be a frequent and distinctive indicator of mixed peoples, though it lacks the frequency of expression which Goins enjoys at the present. It differs from Goins also in that the majority of its bearers were reported as colored in the 1790 census of the Carolinas and Virginia. The greatest concentration in 1830 is again in the Virginia-Carolina border counties, but the earlier data offer no clear indication as to a center of origin.

The names Redcross and Adcock (Issues), Croston and Mail (Guineas), and Sluss and Swinney (Melungeons in a restricted locality) are mapped in Figures 62 to 67. Redcross appears as an old name in Amherst County; other members of the family are mapped in a single tidewater locality; the Adcocks are more frequent in North Carolina. The rarity of the names Mail and Croston confirms earlier conclusions as to the multiplication of those families in the growth of the Guinea population and as to the source of those families. Swinney appears in Virginia in 1790 and in a place that may well have fed Scott County; the people having this name were listed as whites along with most of

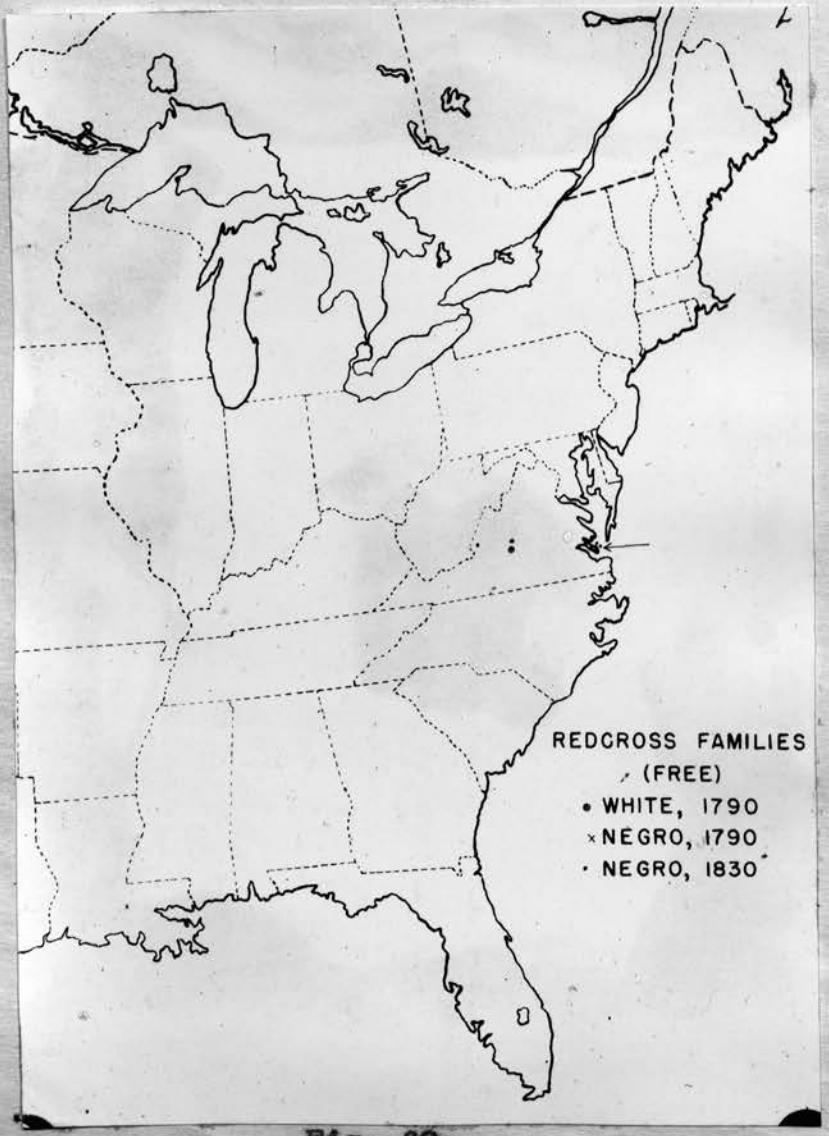

Fig. 62.

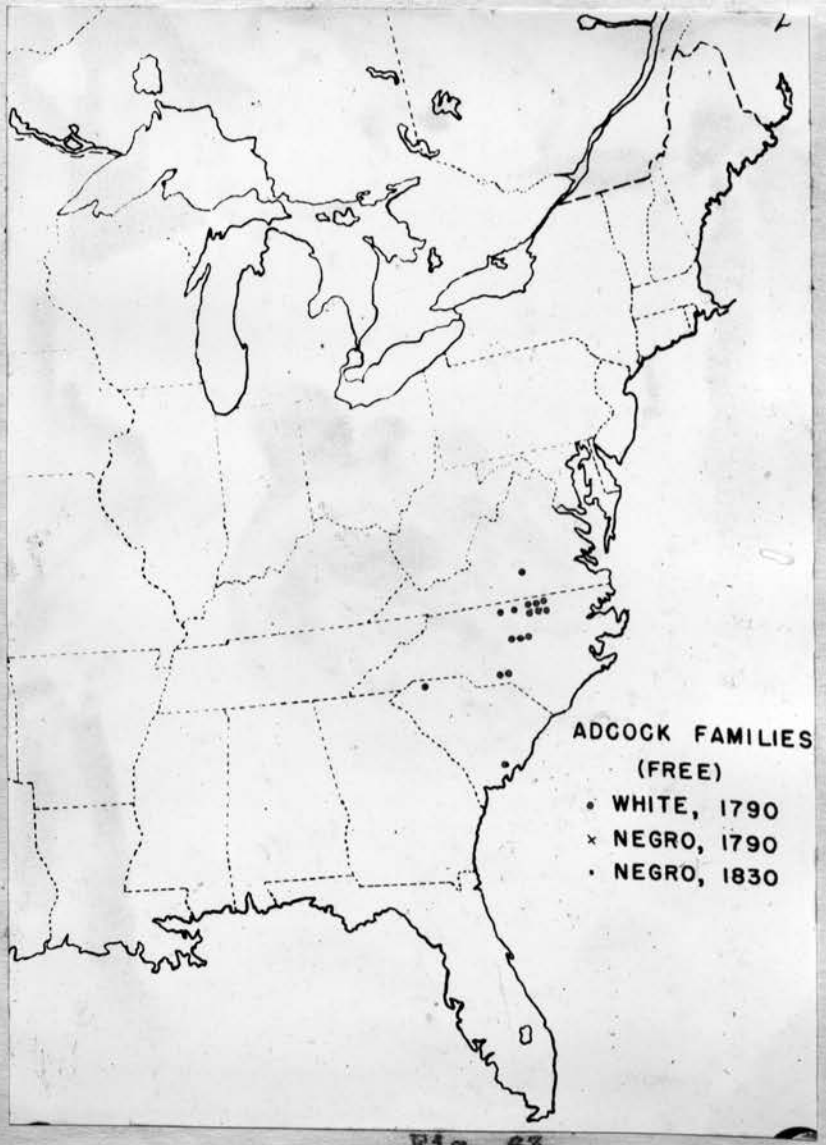

Fig. 63.

1790 data are for the Virginias and Carolinas only; and the Virginia data are actually based on the incomplete state censuses of 1782-85.

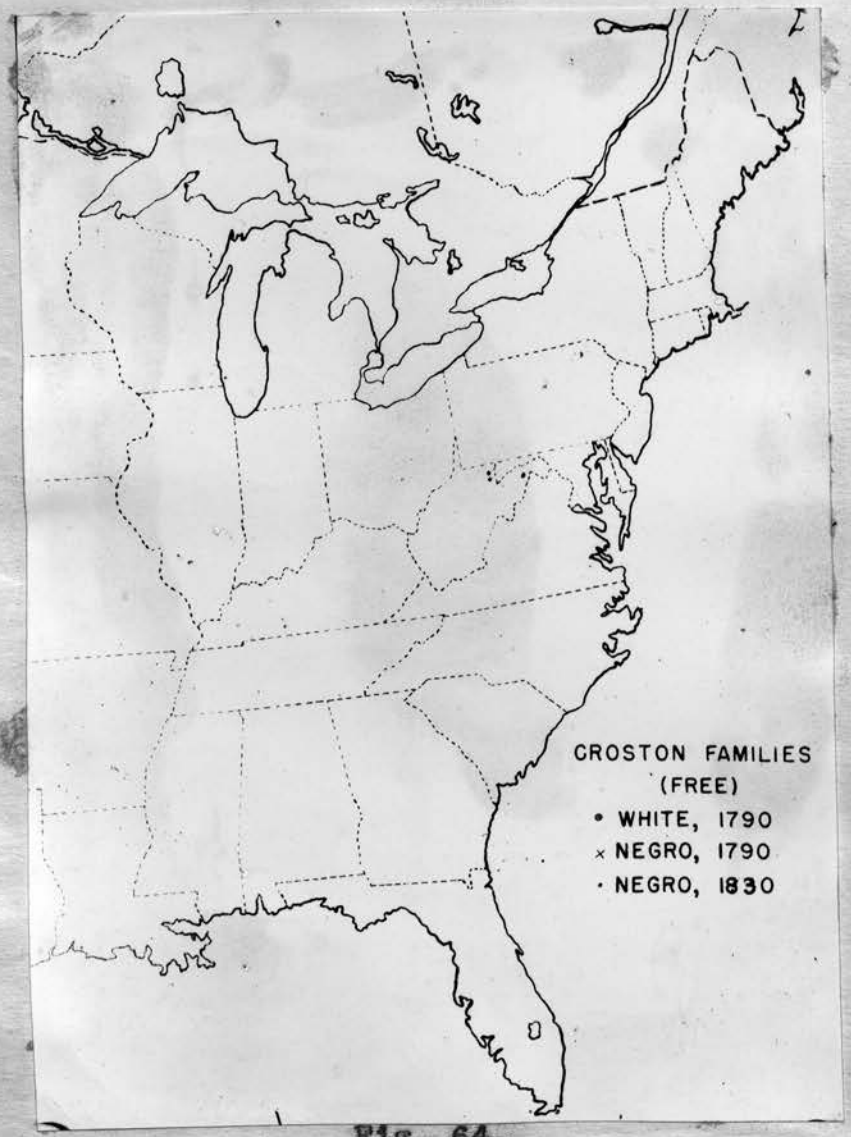

Fig. 64.

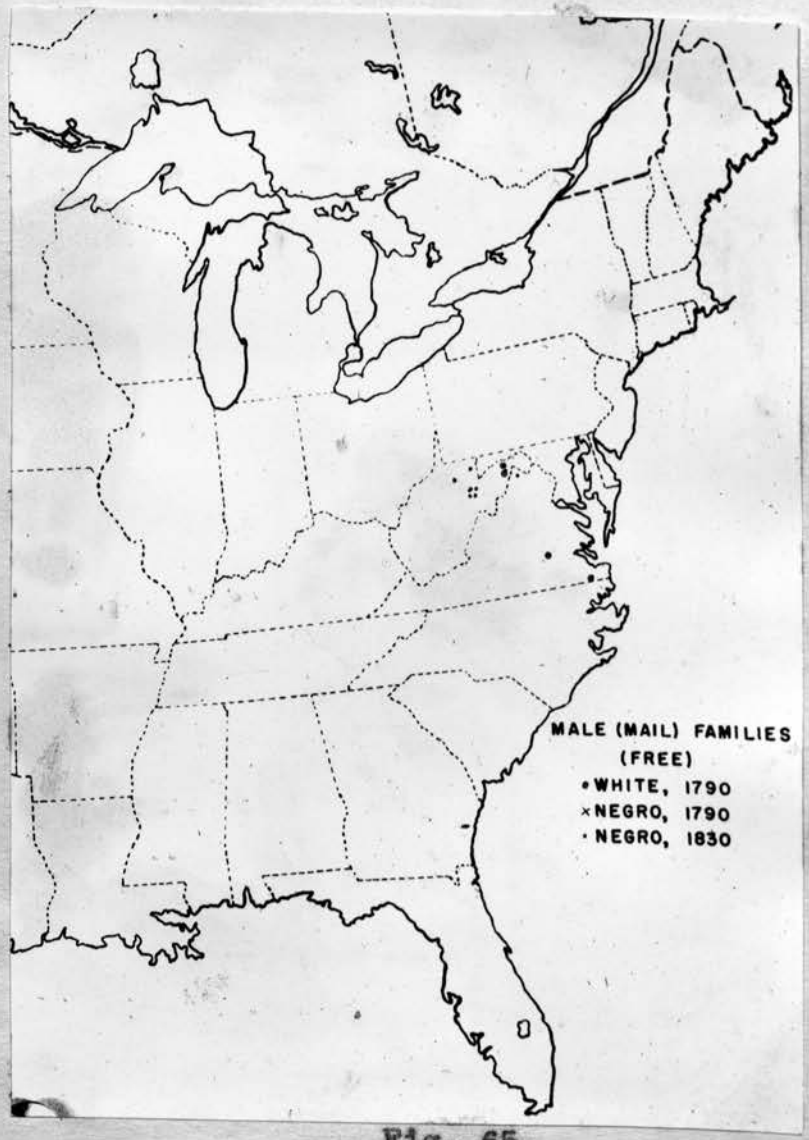

Fig. 65.

1790 data are for the Virginias and Carolinas only; and the Virginia data are actually based on the incomplete censuses of 1782-85.

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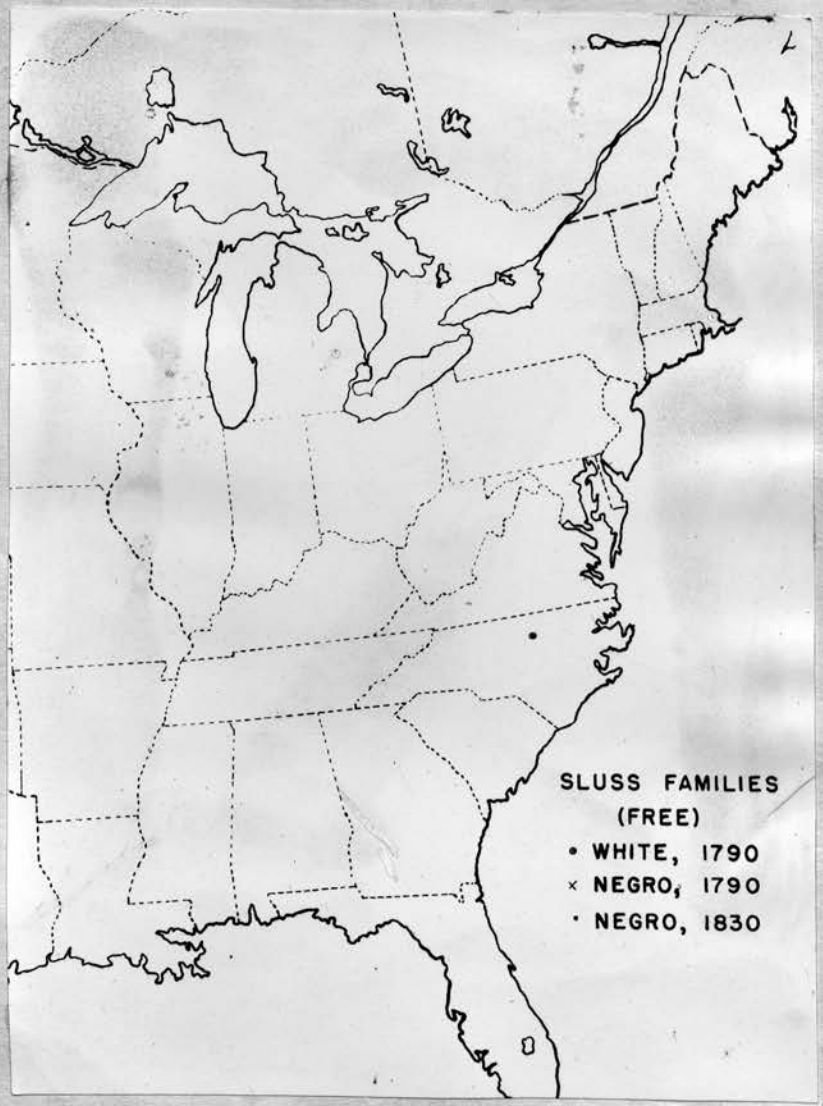

Fig. 66.

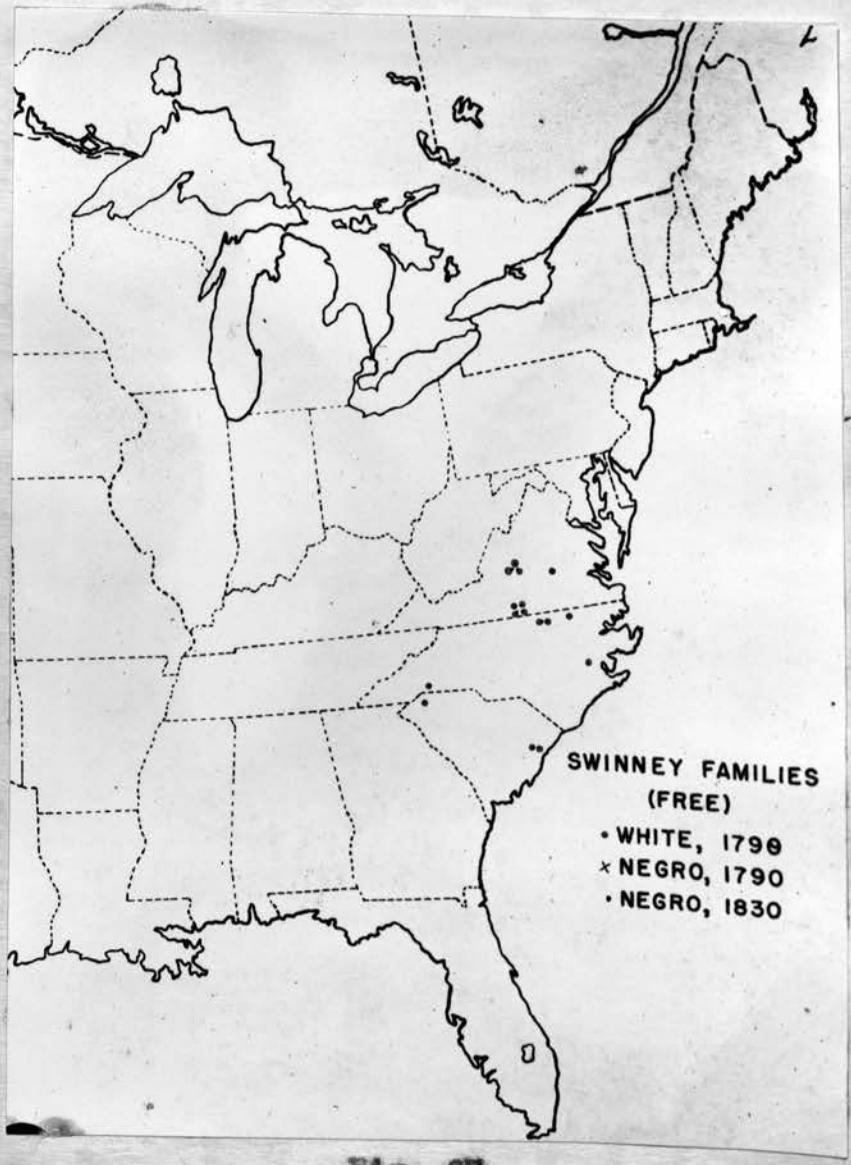

Fig. 67.

1790 data are for the Virginias and Carolinas only; and the Virginia data are actually based on the incomplete state censuses of 1782-85.

the Melungeons in 1830; the absence of the family from the map in 1830 has then no meaning for the present purposes. Swinney could also be confused with Sweeney; in such case it could have a much lower value as a tracer. Only one Sluss family is located.

Lockliar, Oxendine, and Revels are names that are (or have been) very numerous among the Croatans in Robeson County. Figures 68 to 70 show that in 1830 they were so conspicuously concentrated in that area that all colored persons with those names may have originated in that group. Braveboy is a name found both among Croatans and groups in South Carolina; there can hardly be doubt of the relation of all of the Braveboy names here; Figure 71, however, indicates no reason to believe that the Croatan by that name may not have come from mixed groups elsewhere.

This study of the names has shown some interesting distributional situations. It has given one rather strong clue to the original location of the migrants who eventually became Melungeons, and it has shown the usefulness, under certain conditions, of using a rare name for a specific tracer. It is believed that, where census records have been compiled and indexed alphabetically, the possibility of solving several types of geographical and sociological problems by their careful use is available.

One other source of name data may be worthy of brief comment. A list of the surnames of surviving Indian groups in Virginia was prepared in 1889 by James Mooney (furnished me by W. H. Gilbert). In 1943 the Virginia Department of Vital

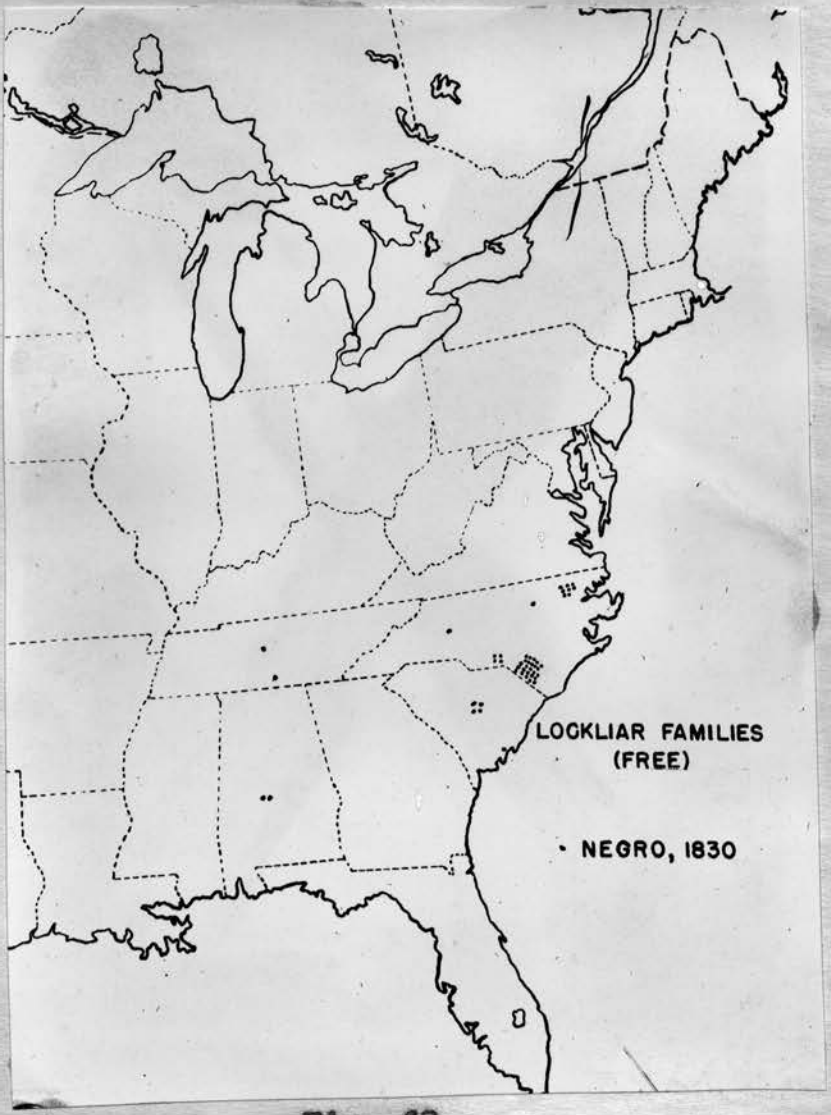

Fig. 68.

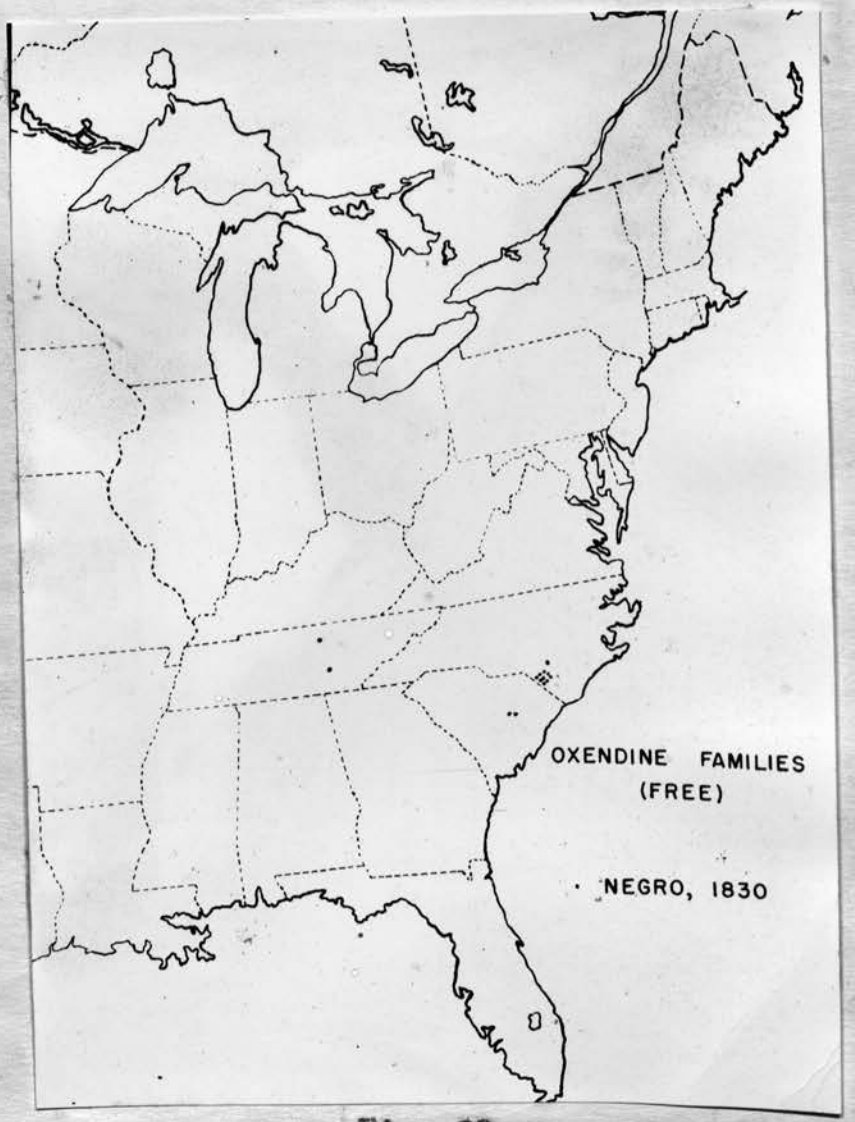

Fig. 69.

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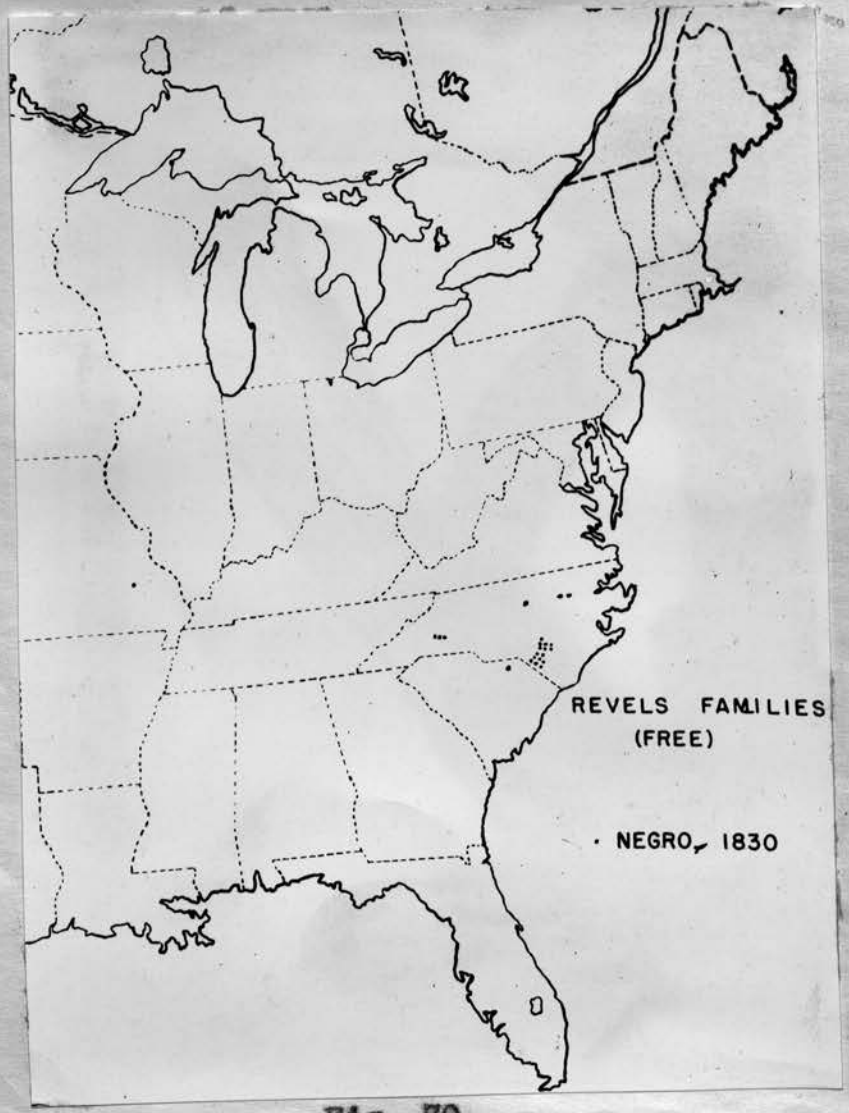
REVELS FAMILIES
(FREE)
· NEGRO, 1830

Fig. 70.

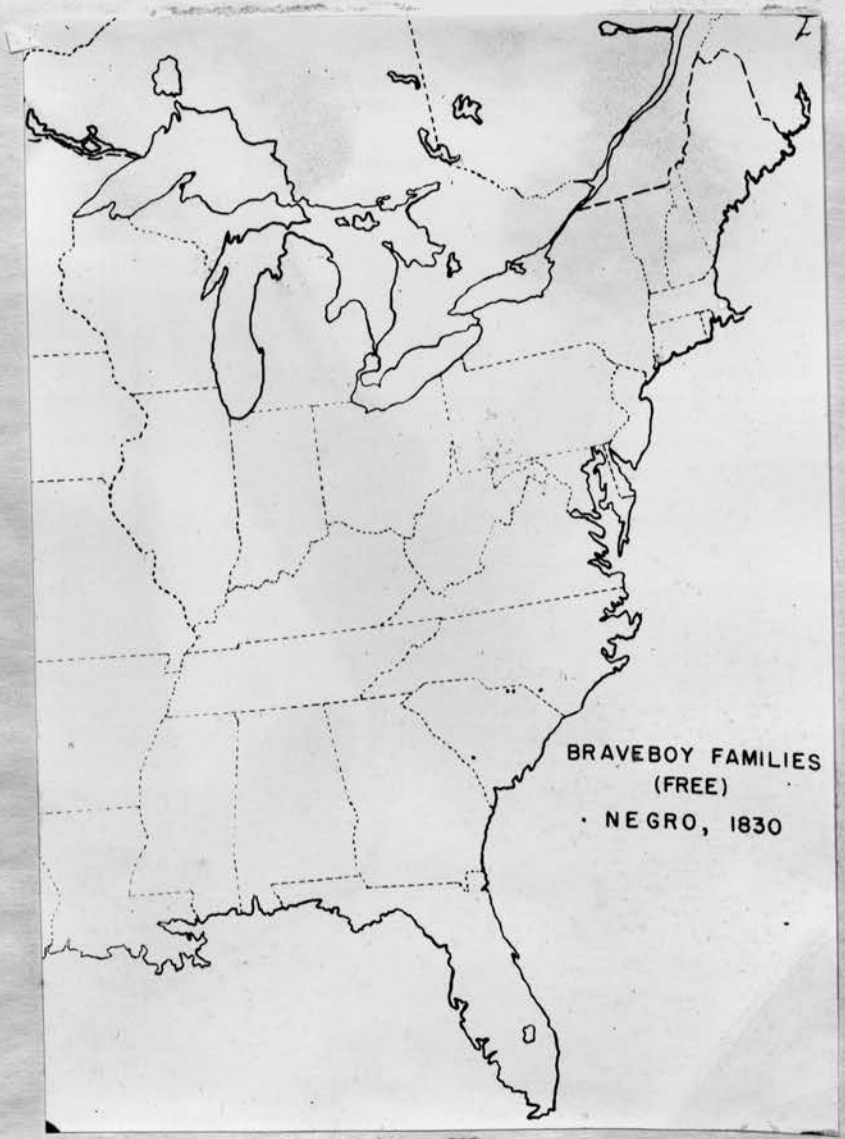
BRAVEBOY FAMILIES
(FREE)
· NEGRO, 1830

Fig. 71.

Statistics prepared a list of "Surnames of Mixed Negroid Virginia Families Striving to Pass as 'Indian' or White." The latter list contains the names of the people in most of the mixed groups mentioned in Virginia and many others besides. The interesting fact is that, for the most part, both the counties and the names are different on the two lists. Some of the Indians on Mooney's list are identified by tribe; it has been characteristic of the mixed-bloods that they have no tribal tie, though they may have some of the blood. Again the Indian ancestry seems to be remote.

XIII

CONCLUSION

Table 30 compares the mixed groups from several significant points of view.

The many basic similarities of the widespread groups are quite surprising. Though much information we would have liked to ascertain about the groups could not be found, the almost uniform lack of material contradictory to the conclusions below helps to reinforce the view that the conclusions are correct for any one group where the evidence may not be so clear. These conclusions are not of a spectacular nature; none of the romantic stories told about the mixed groups have been confirmed, and many of them have been opened to serious and compelling doubt. The thesis is here maintained that we need no such spectacular stories to explain these unusual phenomena. Certainly they are less unusual when presented as recurrent events on both large and small scale in the older parts of the country. (To my knowledge similar groups have not been concretely reported in areas west of the ones covered here). The racial elements needed for such groups have been ubiquitous in the settlement of the United States. The fact that many unnamed small groups of this sort have survived for generations is evidence that large numbers and distinctive names are not always essentials of the phenomenon; but it can hardly be doubted that both are helpful in establishing such groups and maintaining them over long periods.

Table 30

Summary of Characteristics of Mixed-Blood Groups

Group	1 IA	2 IB Most	3 IB Next	4 IIIA	5 IIIB	6 IIIC	7 IV	8 Color rank	9 Schools	10 Pop. Trend	11 Racial Environ.	12 Racial Trend
Cajans	?	4	2,3	1 partially	2(c)	1(b)(i)&(ii)	B	2	Spec.	D(B)	W,N.	N?
Redbones	?	4	2,3	1 in past	2(b) & (c)	1(a)(i) past; 2 (a) now	B	4	White	B	W,N	W
Melungeons (Hancock Co.)	1(b) 2(a)later	4	3,2	1 partially	2(b) & (c)	same	B	5	White	D	W,(N)	W
(Scott Co.)	-	-	-	2	1(b)(ii) or 2(b)	2(a)	C(1)?	-	White	BE	W,(N)	W
Magoffin Co.	-	-	-	2	2(b) & (c)	2(a)	?	-	White	D	W	W
Carmel	-	-	-	2	2(b)	2(a)	C	-	Regular	D	W	?
Guineas	?	4	2,3	2	2(c) little (b)	1(b)(i)&(ii) 2(a)&(b)	C(1)& B	2	Colored	B	W,(N)	N
Jackson Whites	?	4	?	1 in past	?	Past 1(a)&(b) Now 2(a)&(b)	?	1	Regular Recently Spec.	B	W,N	N
Croatans	?	4	1 or 2?	2?	?	1?	A?	-	Special	?	W,N	?
Moors	?	-	-	2?	1?	1?	C(2)?	-	Spec. & Colored	?	W,N	?
Wesorts	?	-	-	2?	1?	2(a)&(b)	C(2)?	-	White & Colored	?	W,N	W?
Issues	?	4	?	2	?	2(a)	C(2)?	-	Special	D or B	W,N	?
Darke Co.	?	3	4	2	2(a) & (c)	1(b) (i)	B	-	Regular	D	W & N in towns	N?
Creoles (Van Cleave)	?	2	?	2	1(a) ?	1(b)(i)&(ii)	C(2)?	-	Special	D	W,N	W?

Explanation: Columns 1 to 7 give classifications according to Table 1 following page 27; the symbols are taken from the table. 8 ranks five of the larger groups in order of decreasing amount of negro blood. 9 classifies the schools. 10 gives the apparent population trend, A indicating physical room to expand, B economic room to expand, D no room to expand where identity maintained, E expansion by displacing others. 11 shows the races with whom they now come in contact, W for white, N for negro (no Indian noted). 12 shows the racial trend now apparent.

The results of this thesis which may be applied to all or most of the larger mixed-blood groups are these:

1. The mixed-blood groups show physical characteristics which seem to indicate the presence of negro blood (except for most of the Melungeons and the Magoffin County people) in a large fraction of the people. The darkness of skin of the mixed groups is not considered to indicate negro origin as against descent from other dark-skinned races. In conjunction with such features as kinky (or strongly curly) hair, broad noses, thick lips, and cloudy eye venation, negro ancestry is strongly indicated. The hair has been most indicative in this connection.

2. These physical characteristics also seem to indicate an appreciable admixture of some other dark-skinned racial group. It is my observation that the negroid characteristics other than color do not appear as strongly as color; this is the basis for the suggestion that some other dark-skinned race is also involved. While the hair shape was mentioned as the most obvious indication of negro blood aside from pigmentation and the most distinctive indication of negro blood, kinky hair is a rather unusual trait among the members of the mixed groups. Since kinkiness is thought to be rather persistent or even dominant, its relative absence may be significant. Selection in mating may also reduce the incidence of frizzly hair and other negroid traits.

3. It is then quite possible that a purely mulatto group should not be expected to differentiate itself in this manner (i.e., with the disclaimer of negro blood). Since all negroid

groups are rejected by white society, the difference between the mixed groups here studied and those much more numerous peoples included in the classification "negro" is simply an effectual unwillingness to join negro society. This unwillingness may possibly be strong enough to succeed only when it is supported by a knowledge of Indian or other non-negro explanation for the dark skin. Its initial success may also reflect admission of such fact on the part of the whites in the area. Some mulatto groups hold themselves aloof from the negroes about them, nursing a pride in white blood, property, education, tradition, or previous condition as free people or slave-owners.

The possibility that remnants of Indian tribes formed the nuclei for the formation of mixed peoples is subject to no direct method of investigation that I know. Various Indian tribes have absorbed large amounts of negro blood while maintaining their tribal identity. The small numbers which may have formed the beginnings of some of the mixed groups had evidently lost any tribal tie.

4. The mixed people have not been in enduring contact with Indians. Does this remoteness imply that any Indian blood was the result of the first mixing? Can we on this basis generalize Weslager's belief that the Moors arose from the absorption of negro blood by white-Indian mixtures?

5. The people are, for the most part, descended from ancestors who were classed as free negroes in the earlier censuses and as mulattoes in later censuses (pp.324-328). This is at

once indication of negro blood and of the fact that it was probably diluted very early. The specificity of the implication of the census records varies from group to group. In general the classification as free negroes or mulattoes applies, in the censuses, to people bearing nearly all of the leading names found among the mixed groups today; usually these names occur in groups, a fact which adds to the weight of our evidence. It must be admitted that the record of the white people in any area has seldom been examined as thoroughly as the colored because the designation of color has formed a conspicuous symbol on its pages which enables the searcher to examine those minorities relatively quickly. In most cases, however, the present names of the mixed-bloods are distinctive in their areas and serve to distinguish them from the whites; we are safe in assigning their ancestry to those regarded as free negroes.

The basic statement of this conclusion is a generalization which is convincingly demonstrated for some groups and not so convincingly for others. I do not wish to appear guilty of the following reasoning: some mixed groups are descended from free negroes; therefore other mixed groups may be assumed to be descended from free negroes; since all mixed groups studied are descended from free negroes, we conclude that such is a universal characteristic. The reasoning instead should be put in this manner: several mixed groups are descended from free negroes; the others seem to be at least partly descended from free negroes, and we have no strong evidence that other ancestry has played such a major part; we have then a single generalization

which, as a characteristic of these groups, is several times proven and at other times in accord with such facts as are known; it can reasonably be accepted unless contradicted by further material.

6. The earlier ancestors of these people were in the present areas at the time of the earliest censuses, and hence frequently at the time of the settlement (except for purely secondary deposits such as at Carmel). The groups often appear to have begun to crystallize during the period of settlement.

7. There is good indication in several cases that the people were mixed when they entered the present area of concentration. Evidence to the contrary has not been found by me, though individual families have probably been added through the freeing of slaves, out-marriages, and other events. It is likely that some of the easternmost groups, however, were formed in situ. The evidence is simply lacking to prove it. But the distinctness of the names of the mixed-bloods in many of their areas would indicate movement.

8. Aside from individual family lines, the ancestors of the mixed people are rarely traceable to a time of slavery; one exception is a single line of Cajans (page 97); another is the main line of Guineas if we accept undocumented newspaper articles (p.234); and in each of these cases the slave ancestor was not in the male line bearing the family name. Occasionally, in fact, the ancestors of the mixed group were slave-holders themselves. The inference is that the state of freedom may

reach back far beyond our present records. A possibility worthy of our consideration is that some of these lines of free colored people might reach back to the early seventeenth century when negroes were brought in with the status of indentured servants (1) who soon acquired their freedom. If North Carolina was settled by former indentured servants, the Croatans might have been only the colored phase of the same movement. The Jackson Whites have not been clearly traced, but we know that one free colored man bearing one of their Dutch names was an early landholder in the region (p.257).

9. The mixed peoples are always characterized by a relatively small number of surnames most of which are not common among the whites in the same area. The fact of considerable inbreeding is usually not hard to establish, nor is it hard to confirm the passage of several generations necessary for the multiplication of any one name.

10. The earlier census records show populations small compared with the present; usually only a few families seem to have formed the nucleus. The Croatans of 1790 were more numerous than any other group in its first identifiable census report; significantly, they form the largest group today.

11. In the cases where information is available, the evidence shows the families founding any group to be of diverse

(1) For a discussion of colored indentured servants see John H. Russell's "The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865," Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXXI (1913), No.3, 16-41.

origin. They have frequently come from different states. The members of the East Coastal groups originated in the state of their present location and apparently pre-date any accessible records as to their beginnings.

12. The ancestors of all the groups studied are traceable (at least partially) to East Coastal states. None of the groups is known to have formed from original mixing to the west. Can the mixing phenomenon be confined to the Colonial period?

13. The groups have increased rapidly in population at some period; natural reproduction has been aided by immigration of other mixed people and racial back-crosses with neighbors.

14. In culture the mixed peoples resemble equally poor people in the same regions. This lack of other culture traits is probably not inconsistent with what other facts we can ascertain about the history of these people. In a frontier day their numbers were small; whether they were composed of mulattoes, freed slaves or the stray descendants of slaves by white women, half-breed Indians parasitic on the pioneer activities, or some riff-raff dumped by England on her colony, they were marginal people, very much dependent for ways and means on the dominant majority; they existed in no numbers sufficient to form a society within which interchange of customs might result in the preservation of a common culture, which the very diversity of their origins seems to deny. Many of these peoples apparently have never been other than a dependent class. Impoverishment, dilution, and dependence have held them to the narrow ways of

the other pioneers.

15. These groups are typically, but not entirely, a Southern phenomenon. It is interesting that the only important group in the North is also most atypical.

16. Distinct physical refuge areas are not required for the rise of these mixed groups, though most of them live on poor and out-of-the-way land. Only the Jackson Whites seem to have been sharply distinguished locally by a topographic boundary. If one insists that the refuge areas are necessary, he can find a rough ridge area or swamps near any of the present mixed groups. Evidence that the people have been bred in such spots is usually completely lacking, while public records show that in some cases they have lived on the same types of land occupied by other people of the same economic level within the period of the records.

17. A correlation of these localities with physical refuges more broadly conceived, however, is more convincing. Figure 56 shows that the mixed-blood strains live typically in the Coastal Plain and Appalachian Provinces - areas generally marginal in soil fertility and irregular in utility, accessibility, and settlement.

Though the distribution of the mixed-bloods is significantly Southern, the Cotton Belt stands as a broad blank on the map of their localities; if we add to Figure 56 the French-negro-Indian groups of the Gulf Coast and unidentified groups rumored to be in the Ozarks and the Georgia Appalachians, the Cotton Belt, representing the expanse of generally usable land in the South, is even more perfectly outlined.

18. Borders of some nature seem to be favorite locations for the mixed groups, though they are absent in many cases. The Redbones near the Texas border, the Jackson Whites, Issues, and Carmel groups near borders between plains and hills, the Cajans on the old Spanish frontier, and many groups along state boundaries may be locationally related to the meeting of two worlds.

19. Most of the mixed people live as a class or classes in a localized area rather than as an island. None is essentially self-sufficient now unless it be the Hancock County Melungeons; there we are dealing with individual family self-sufficiency - or the remnant of it - rather than a complex group self-containment.

20. Though the peoples are almost universally reported to be less distinctive or less Indian-like in appearance than formerly, most of the groups do not seem to be disappearing by emigration or dissolution.

21. Their conservative nature may be evidenced by the fact that the boys in the army, usually classed as white, have in all these groups mostly returned to their homes. Though outside contacts and economic welfare increased with employment during the War, a marked tendency to return to the status quo ante has been reported in most localities.

22. This conservatism or attachment to the home locality and a general lack of aggressiveness on the part of the mixed people (very likely the result of selective emigration) are probably necessary conditions for the persistence of such mixed groups.

23. Relations with negroes are rather scrupulously avoided by most of these peoples (aside from the Jackson Whites).

24. The distinctions according to social segregation and color that separate the mixed groups from white and black occur on a smaller scale within each group, diversity of appearance being a characteristic which invites this condition.

25. A general relationship among mixed-blood groups in the area of southern Virginia, the Carolinas, and the eastern parts of Tennessee and Kentucky is indicated by a study of surnames. Groups in Louisiana, Ohio, and, perhaps, West Virginia seem to be at least partly offshoots of this society. The other mixed groups are considered here to have had independent origins.

The Present and Future

These mixed peoples have expanded rapidly in numbers in the past. Their birth rates continue to be very high. Some of the groups are apparently growing, but not so rapidly as the birth rate might indicate, while others may be shrinking. If the groups are not growing, the population increase must be draining off in some manner. In general such people, whether visibly recognizable or not, must leave their own areas in order to leave the group.

Many of these people have no difficulty whatsoever in passing as white; when they leave the group the separation is permanent if they wish to make it so. The others usually find their opportunities in cities, especially in the North; their lot may, in many cases, be with the colored population. No data are available,

but it is assumed that the movement to the cities ends the high birth rate. Thus the migrants not only are lighter in color, but, with a decreasing birth rate, their contribution of alien traits to the white population which they join is reduced to a minimum.

Only the mixed-bloods who remain in their home areas make up the mixed-blood population as we identify it. In many of the places, under existing standards of production and consumption, there is no room for expansion. The Hancock County Melungeons have long since divided their land into parcels too small for adequate support. Emigration and a decreased birth rate, perhaps as a result of the work of the mission, have reduced the home population. In Scott County, however, the Melungeons have been expanding, this time as the farmers leave to make room for them. The Guinea population of West Virginia seems to be limited by land and opportunity for employment; in recent years, they have made little headway toward displacing the white farmers, but coal-mining possibly offers an opportunity for an increasing population. The emigration to Ohio has been large, of course. The Alabama Cajans are effectively shut in and seem to have little opportunity to expand. But in Louisiana the Redbones have increased by moving from the rural areas into the growing towns; that is, they have expanded with the population as a whole. Since thus far these towns depend on local resources, the mixed-bloods are limited by them and the financial dominance of those who call them Redbones.

Finally the groups may disappear by merging with one of the other population components. The Melungeons and the Redbones are accepted as white when official distinctions are made. Even some of the Cajans are so accepted, and an occasional Guinea gets into the white schools in Barbour County. Thus in most cases the ground work is laid for the disappearance of the group, but the process is retarded by the continuing core of dark-skinned people which persists by selective emigration as well as the very conservatism of the society. Some of the groups may eventually merge with the colored population.

An estimate of well over 50,000 for the total population of the mixed groups of the type here studied is probably a good one (2). It is not expected that the number will grow rapidly. Where expansion is possible in the home areas, it may be of such a nature as to raise the relative social position of the group. Where expansion means emigration, growth in identifiable numbers is not the result. The ultimate decline of the number of such mixed-bloods depends on a change of social attitudes. Education of the mixed-bloods, could it be accomplished, would quickly dissolve the groups; their social inferiority would decrease, and their ability to escape from an unfortunate situation would increase. The breaking of the self-perpetuating cycle which involves a grade-school education ending with marriage at age 16, followed by the responsibilities of a family which keep the male tied down to a low-grade job, is in many of the poorer cases, the essential for providing such an opportunity.

(2) Gilbert, "Memorandum ....," 438.

Conclusion

No simple set of factors is found to control the distribution and location of these mixed groups. We can say only that they have likely arisen as a by-product of the frontier contact of races in a society developing racial and economic classes, and have persisted in the static societies of rural areas, perhaps stimulated by tradition of blood or pride of early freedom.

APPENDIX

The Census Records Used in the Study

This summary of the census records available for research provides the information necessary for the evaluation of the data based on them which have been used above.

1790

The schedules of the first census have been published in book form for those states for which the material was not destroyed (1). Unfortunately, they have been lost for a few states important to this study. The states for which they are available outside of New England are New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina. In the published data the extant results of State censuses taken between 1782 and 1785 have been substituted for the missing Virginia records.

In 1790, as in later years, the records are given by county; sometimes smaller subdivisions are also used. A feature of special value in the books that refer to 1790 is the index, which lists all the heads of families for each state alphabetically, giving the page on which they appear in the county lists. The 1790 record listed after the head of each family the number of:

Free white males of 16 and upward

Free white males under 16

(1) United States Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907-8; separate volume for each state).

Free white females

All other free persons

Slaves

The classification of "all other free persons" can evidently include anyone not considered white.

The Virginia records for 1782 and 1783 list the head of the family and the number of whites and the number of blacks. Free negroes can presumably be recognized when the family has no whites. The 1784 and 1785 records listed only whites, but sometimes the census-taker noted free negroes or mulattoes. The Virginia records are far from complete, involving less than half of the counties.

1800

Some of the schedules for this year are also missing.

The second census listed under the head of the family the number of people in each of the following categories:

Free white males

Under 10 years of age

10 - 16

16 - 26

26 - 45

45 and upwards

Free white females

(same age groups as males)

All other free persons except Indians not taxed.

Slaves

Indians living as regular citizens could still be listed under the same classification as the free negroes.

1810

Records for Tennessee, which might be very useful, are still missing (except for one county). The schedule for 1810 was identical with that for 1800.

1820

All but a few of the Tennessee counties have been lost, and those few are of no special interest.

Opposite the name of each family head were listed the numbers of:

Whites

Males

Under 10

10 - 16

16 - 18

16 - 26

26 - 45

45 and upwards

Females

(same age groups as males except for 16-18 years)

Slaves

(broken down by age and sex)

Free Colored

Males

Under 14

14 - 26

26 - 45

45 and upwards

Females

(same age groups as males)

All other persons, except Indians not taxed.

Foreigners not naturalized

Number of persons engaged in agriculture

Number of persons engaged in commerce

Number of persons engaged in manufactures

Of particular interest is the separation of "free colored" and "all other persons, except Indians not taxed." This latter classification seems suited for any Indians who might be living as regular citizens. The term "colored" has acquired a definite connotation and does not seem to fit the Indians if there is any other place to put them. Yet none of the areas of interest in this study reported anyone in the "other persons" category in 1820. The implication is that they were not considered as Indians. The classification was little used, however, and was abandoned in later censuses.

1830

The age classifications for free whites, slaves, and free colored persons were all expanded, and data were obtained on

the deaf, dumb, and blind, and on aliens.

1840

This year the schedule gave the same age data as 1830. In addition figures were obtained on type of employment, number of pensioners for military services, and education and illiteracy.

1850

This year set the pattern for those that followed. The name of every free person was listed, and the persons were arranged by numbering dwelling houses and families. Columns provided for age, sex, color (white, black, or mulatto), occupation, value of real estate owned, place of birth, marriages within the year, current school attendance, adult illiteracy, and infirmities. The color was normally designated only if the individual was not white.

1860 - 70

The possibility of listing Indian in the race column was specifically provided in addition to other small changes in the 1850 schedule.

1880

The general pattern was not changed, but the place of birth of each individual's parents was recorded. This is now the last census released for public use.

1890

The original schedules of this census were entirely destroyed by fire and will not be available for use.